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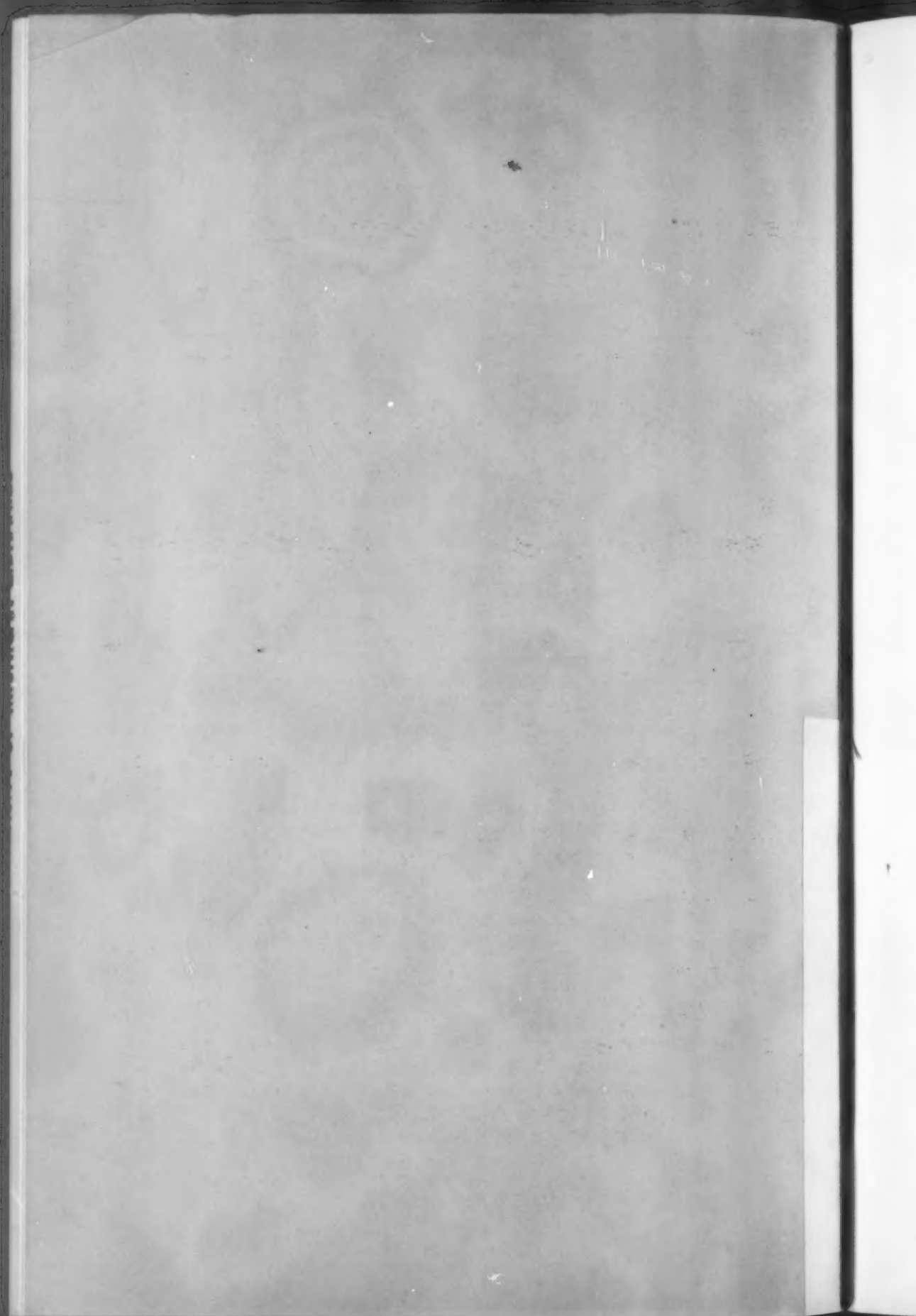
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The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly

Vol. XXXI

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The Ivory Tower*

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

If the growth of American colleges and universities in the last forty years has been remarkable, the rise and development of our discipline has been extraordinary. Forty years ago I had been for five years a university professor in Texas but I did not attend any meeting of sociologists, for there was not one sociologist in the state. The whole history of American sociology as an academic discipline falls, not only within my lifetime, but within my memory. I was a junior in college when the first department of sociology was set up, and I was graduated before the first doctor's degree was awarded. Not until I had been six years out of college was the American Sociological Society founded, with a membership list that could have been written on a postal card. We count our numbers by the thousands now.

The prestige of sociology is due, in no small degree, to the outstanding ability and character of the men who founded it here. Men of the stature of Ward, Giddings, Sumner, Small, Ross and their colleagues, were not only learned men but they had the courage and ability to fight for academic recognition against the traditional vested interests which they challenged valiantly and successfully. But for their courage and determination, we should not be here today. There were giants in those days and it is well that we should not forget. Other men labored and we have entered into their labors.

Consider the conditions under which they began. There were no text books, so they proceeded to write them. Contrast that with the flood of indifferent books which appear along with the good ones now. There was one journal, but its editor was hard put to it to find material for its pages. Much of it he wrote himself, including translations of foreign books and serial publication of more than one book of his colleagues. Today we have four journals exclusively devoted to sociology and a score of publications which welcome our writings.

*Read at the annual dinner of the Southwestern Sociological Society, Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas, April 8, 1950.

Attacks against the new science continued and grew in intensity but the defenders were victorious and succeeded in invading, one by one, the major institutions. They did not apologize; they took the initiative, for they believed in the work they were doing. There were none in those days who foresaw the time when callow writers should burden the journals with titles such as: What is the matter with Sociology? When *they* criticized, they criticized by creation.

The membership of the society grew slowly during the first two decades, and the expansion into new institutional territory was very gradual. The annual meetings were devoted to a single topic, selected by the president, and the program consisted of essays on the subject. Sociology was largely philosophical and theoretical, and lively debates on such questions occupied much space in the journal. Gradually the nucleus of an agreed conceptual foundation emerged in preparation for the next stage of development.

Immediately following the first World War sociology began a period of unprecedented expansion, not only in the number of students and the rapidly increasing toll of new departments but, most importantly in the almost explosive multiplication of interests. Instead of the one topic for the annual meeting we now have a ten-ring circus with divisions and sections. For, thirty years ago, there began in earnest the practice of empirical research. We went afield with questionnaires, schedules, and interviews. Statistical laboratories, something never envisaged by the founding fathers, are standard equipment in the best departments, complete with slide rules, computing machines, spot maps, block diagrams, statistical tables and volumes from the census reports. Sociology is no longer merely a subject to be taught but also a profession to be practiced. There is a sociologist on the staff of every correctional institution in the state of Illinois, and administrators are making increasing use of our experts. In the last war the army secured the services of a hundred of our number and praised the result of their labors. Sociologists are employed as such in the agricultural department in Washington and in other bureaus. We have come of age.

And yet, in spite of the successes we have achieved there is grave reason for dissatisfaction. Sociologists are widely sought, but always in a secondary capacity. We are used, but only instrumentally. We have prestige, but our standing is far inferior to that of the physical sciences. When the congress passes a bill for the establishment of a national science foundation, sociology is not included. When the sociologist speaks, he does not speak with authority. Our public does not wholly trust us. Perhaps they are right. Do we really deserve to have our conclusions accepted? Let us inquire.

One good reason for the caution of the public lies in our youth. Recall that empirical research in sociology is only about thirty years old. Our methods need perfecting, our basic concepts are not yet matters of agreement, we have schools of thought in sociology, indeed we have schools of sociology, a sure sign of immaturity. From the book of Copernicus which described the revolution of the planets to the book of Newton which set forth the laws of these revolutions it was just 144 years. We have only recently begun to work and, while much has been accomplished, far more remains to be done. We shall not need 144 years but we do need more than thirty.

But the comparative youth of our science is not the only, or even the chief, reason for our lack of prestige. Half a century is not long as the historian views scientific development but it has been long enough for us to have accumulated a series of findings that should command more respect from the people and their rulers than is accorded to us. The physical scientists speak with authority and men listen with deference. The spirit of science is disinterestedness, objectivity and rationality and the great scientists who receive the Nobel prizes and other tokens of public esteem are presumed to have these essential virtues. May it not be that the low esteem with which our confident pronouncements are received is due to the difficulty of maintaining the disinterested and objective attitude, and to the nature of the problems with which we deal?

A basic science of human nature, which sociology aims to be, will perforce deal with questions highly charged with emotion. Passions may run high and consent may be withheld because the audience is prejudiced or the investigator is biased or both. Prejudice and bias are fatal to the disinterestedness, objectivity and rationality which must characterize all true science. It is a solemn question whether social science can transcend its difficulties and become truly scientific.

Indeed, voices are heard insistently contending that bias and prejudice can never be absent from sociological research. A rich foundation, desiring to finance a study on an important problem, sent abroad for a foreigner that the study should be made without bias. The plan failed utterly, and the American Dilemma became the Swedish Dilemma—whether to be objective or to affirm the impossibility of an objective scientific study of a social problem. The latter of the horns impaled the man, for his bias was not only glaring but, by a process of projection, the same defect was imputed to all sociologists.

The Swede is not without his disciples and there are those among us who, to this day, insist that disinterestedness, objectivity and rationality are impossible in sociology and, therefore, sociology can never be a

true science. Their only recourse is for the sociologist to confess his fault, thus gaining pardon for the offense. This goes beyond the accepted practice in the treatment of delinquency for it is not the custom, either in the church or in the courts, to accept a confession as the equivalent of a claim for immunity.

But there is another group among American sociologists who inveigh against a scientifically objective science of human nature, not because it is impossible, but because they hold it to be immoral. This is the "knowledge-for-what" school, deeply concerned with the ills of the world, who would limit sociological writing to attempts to reform abuses and to bring direct benefits to mankind. The Swedish view sometimes amounts to a plaintive feeling that objectivity is desirable but, unhappily, not possible. The reformist school insists that scientific disinterestedness amounts to a callous moral indifference and is therefore to be condemned. Both of these groups are at one in holding views which would make a scientific sociology impossible.

There is still a third point of view which has reached its culminating point in Russia which holds objectivity to be illegal. "Literature", wrote Lenin, "ought to be party literature. It ought not to be an individual affair. Down with non-party writers! Let there be no more hypocritical talk about individual freedoms." In Russia biology must be "Marxian" biology, psychology must be communist psychology and sociology must be party sociology. It is not impossible that some of our left wing sociologists would like to impose such a limitation on their colleagues but, fortunately for American science, they lack political power.

The high prestige which the physical sciences enjoy and which sociology lacks, is due, in no small degree, to the concept of "pure science," not a value concept opposed to "impure science" but a descriptive term, denoting scientific research which has no value or motive beyond itself. In "pure science" knowledge is sought for its own sake. It is insistently repeated that pure science has often had immense practical consequences, and every schoolboy knows the story of how the playthings in the laboratory of Faraday led to the invention of the electric dynamo, and a host of similar fortunate developments. But it should be stressed that the motive was not a practical one and that vast numbers of the discoveries of the workers in pure science have never found any practical application.

It is easy to understand and to sympathize with the desire of the men of good will in sociology to have their work benefit mankind. If it did not do so in the long run, we should not deserve the support of our public. But the earnest efforts of biased and prejudiced men who have insufficient grounding in basic principles may do vast harm and increase

the evils they seek to oppose. An adequate system of basic principles is alone adequate for practical reforms. Action without principles is blind; principles without action are empty. But how can we go about our work in sociology so as to give us a pure science?

There is restricted opportunity for the thinker to think if he is surrounded by the hum of engines, the whirring of wheels, and the roar of traffic. There is great difficulty for disinterested effort when the sociologist is disturbed by the contemplation of juvenile delinquency, divorce, race prejudice, and violent crime. The world is too much with him. The demands of practical life disturb him. He needs to withdraw. He needs to seek knowledge for its own sake. He must regard knowledge as a pearl of great price, as a jewel shining by its own light. He needs to forget the admonition that knowledge shall be for some ulterior purpose. He needs to know for the joy of knowing. This is one way in which prejudice and bias may be overcome. Let us build for him an Ivory Tower where he can be free.

The ivory tower is, of course, not new, but those who mention it are wont to condemn it. It is the chief object of attack from our knowledge-for-what brethren. Seldom have men approved it. I rise to approve it and to praise.

We have referred to the great prestige of physical science and the corresponding low esteem of sociology and the social sciences but we need to be reminded of the fact that many of the great achievements of physical science have been made by men who did their work with no other end in view than the pursuit of knowledge as its own and sole reward. The ivory tower has been the favorite dwelling place of many of their most honored men.

Michaelson, at the expense of months of labor and thought, besides no small expenditure of money, arranged octagonal mirrors revolving with the utmost accuracy and measured the speed of light. He showed that the figures we had been accepting were in error. The error was one-thousandth of one percent. "Knowledge for what?" And yet for that useless information Michaelson received the thousands of dollars of the Nobel prize and had his name enrolled among the list of immortals. He did it in an ivory tower.

Emerson spent half a year in the Congo, collecting termites and returned, after much labor, with the knowledge that he had discovered many new species, and all the entomologists applauded.

Osgood spent a summer on Tierra del Fuego, seeking a little rodent which would indicate, if found, that once there had been a connection with the mainland. His native employees could not understand why such

effort should be expended for information so useless. "Knowledge for what?" they asked. But geologists and geographers found the effort worth while. It added to our knowledge of the distant past of our hemisphere, useless but interesting.

Knut Rasmusson traveled during a whole of an arctic summer to survey a section of the north coast of Greenland, a few miles in extent, which had never been mapped. A storm overtook them on their return journey, taking the life of one and endangering all. All that had been accomplished was the right to draw a very short line on the map—an inch long on a large scale map—adding to our knowledge but of small practical value. It was knowledge for its own sake.

The story is very long which recounts the work of the geographers, geologists, astronomers, and physical scientists who have, since the sixteenth century, set the example of disinterested search for truth and discovery of facts regardless of their usefulness.

The beautiful tower of ivory white is, thus, not a product of modern architecture but has been occupied for centuries. Even those who took out temporary leases have, in their isolation, given us creations of such beauty or wisdom that we honor their memory and enshrine their gifts to us in the treasure house of our prized spiritual goods. Marcus Aurelius, man of action—general and emperor—sought the tower to write his *Meditations* and for this we give grateful praise.

Milton, active statesman that he was, once wrote:

Oh let my lamp at midnight hour
Be in some high and lonely tower,
Where I might oft outwatch the Bear
With thrice-great Hermes, or ensphere
The spirit of Plato.*

If poets and scientists are praised for the results they bring back from the ivory tower, why may not sociologists be allowed to take out a lease. It might well be that such a dwelling place, if only for a season, would contribute to freedom from bias and prejudice. It might well be that the search for objectivity would be advanced.

But violent objections are heard—charges followed by specifications. Critics and others call him selfish for his withdrawal from society and insist that he should never cease to keep in mind that social benefit should ever be his aim. But it might be contended that the example of selfishness has been set by the very society in question. It bosses him at every

*The substance of this and the next half dozen paragraphs, including some direct quotes, I have taken from an article on the same subject by E. M. Forster: *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 168, pp. 51-58, January 1939.

turn, it finger prints him, takes away his earnings, and at times his home. It refuses him a passport if he has not been a good boy or is not with a good girl, controlling him at birth and death, work and play. On occasion it tears him from wife and child, puts a deadly weapon in his hand and forces him to kill a man he does not even dislike, and subjects him to the possibility of a mutilated body or an unsightly death. Society and the man are both of great value, but if the controversy is to take the form of an accusation of selfishness, society cannot come into this court with clean hands.

But is the dweller in the ivory tower really selfish? In seeking knowledge, does he not do well? Pursuing truth, is he not seeking freedom which truth has promised to bring? In the tower he seeks not to save society nor does he seek to save himself, but if he does succeed in finding wisdom he may even help to save both.

His critics go on to charge that the dweller in the tower is trying to escape from life. This charge approaches absurdity. He who follows a train of thought and tries to make a creative synthesis of scattered and hitherto unrelated facts and concepts till he, if fortunate, can formulate new truth is intensely alive. He has, at most, exchanged one form of life for another. He may be escaping from what officials call life but which he may consider annoying officialism. He escapes, it may be, from the life of the busy-body who bungles, to the life of reason and creative thought.

Practical conduct can, of course, be learned only by contact with our fellow men, but when it comes to abstract thought and to the detailed contemplation of events there is need for solitude. A chicken wants to be alone only if he is sick; man may seek solitude when he feels well and strong.

We cannot, to be sure, have any guarantee that the dweller in the Ivory Tower will find the pearl of great price or even be sure that his labors will have any value whatever. Novelty and creativeness cannot be reduced to a formula; no university has yet set up a Department of Inventiveness; and there is much chaff in the wheat of our best harvest.

Nor can we be sure that the dweller in the Tower will emerge a better man. When he comes down he may walk straight into the gutter. He may, indeed, be a wastrel but he may, on the other hand, be a great artist who works best in solitude. But if the results be barren or even harmful, is that the fault of the tower? Disastrous results have also come from the labors of the sincerest of reformers and the busiest of philanthropists.

Repeatedly have well-meaning reformers fought a campaign to turn the rascals out only to find another set of rascals in. The last state is

worse than the first if we take account of the cynicism and despair and the feeling of "What's-the-use?" Consider the sudden and violent abolition of slavery in the United States and in South Africa with its harvest of bitterness and strife, in contrast with the gradual and sympathetic emancipation in Brazil where race conflict is at a minimum. Though knowledge without reform may seem empty, surely reform without knowledge is blind—and sometimes dangerous.

Yes, the sociologist in the tower may be barren, he may be in error, or he may find great truths, but whatever else happens, he will be reproached and held up as a bad example. 'Twas ever thus:

"If on Parnassus' top you sit
You rarely bite—are always bit."

The Ivory Tower is not a hermitage. Not only are there books and learned journals on the shelves but there is a door open to the world and it is never locked—for though men may reproach the dweller in the tower, they often find his talk worth the climb. And there are no visiting hours. There are windows in the tower and a view of the world, for, though withdrawn, one remains a friend to man. Indispensable in the furniture are writing materials to inscribe in changeless symbols the swift fleeting unspoken words of precious thought. Communication is a duty and a delight; for speech and the written word are of the very essence of civilization. The word preserves contacts; it is silence which isolates.

The sociologist in the tower will not be popular, for he seems passive in a world of frantically active men. He shuns enthusiasms, eschews reforms, never crusades for a cause, and flees the role of agitator as the plague. But he loves his kind, looks on his fellow men with ironic pity, and dedicates himself to the pursuit of knowledge which all men need and which so many lack, and to the search for wisdom, an end so often forgotten in a world so frantically seeking for means. He is like a dweller in a lighthouse whose horizons are wider—he looks out from a great height.

The sociologist in the ivory tower is seeking knowledge for its own sake, realizing that all knowledge cannot be put to practical use. Nevertheless he strives to know and to prove that he does know. He does not go about doing good. He does not go about, and he does not do good. Beauty, goodness and truth are the great needs of mankind but to the artist he leaves the specialized search for beauty, to the saint the unalloyed pursuit of the good, while he devotes himself to abstract search for truth and to reflective thought, using the materials of a well-stored mind and the treasures of concrete facts as they are recorded and accessible. For the artist and for the saint he has only words of praise but he can only say: "They work their work, I mine." He follows the

gleam, not without the hope of bringing some new thing of worth, and aware that ahead there is an untraveled realm whose margin ever fades.

The ivory tower is, of course, a state of mind, a plan of work, a purity of spirit. But it does not imply that the sociologist may not have use of the gadgets and equipment of the sociological laboratory. These are essential for the modern worker, and the practical results that have come from them are thrice welcome and have given us the allegiance and support of powerful friends. But it is not impossible that some of the most needed knowledge can come from the brains of men who are familiar with what is known and whose work is to relate what was unrelated.

A very interesting development in modern atomic physics has taken just this form. Until recently research was done in the laboratory with rooms full of dynamos, magnets, vacuum tubes and strange gadgets unknown to the layman. Today some of the most important discoveries have been made by the scholar with only a pencil and paper, so to speak. Maxwell's equations, purely formal, were found to be incomplete and too complicated, but by choosing the simplest of the solutions he succeeded in predicting the magnetic wave and led to the current theory of light. Dirac, finding the complicated equation for the electron unsatisfactory, developed simpler ones which automatically brought in spin and predicted the positron. The winner of the Nobel prize in physics for the past year is a Japanese who was rewarded for his equations, for these had successfully predicted a hitherto unknown component of the atom. Einstein's great fame rests on his equations.

It is true that the equations are formal and that formalism is not conclusive till tested in the laboratory. But there was nothing to test till the equations were written and the man in the tower had brought forth his communication.

The visitor to the campus of Princeton may see on a summer afternoon one or more of the members of the Institute for Advanced Studies walking on the lawn. The men have been chosen for their past achievements and their future promise. They are not teachers. They have no duties. No reports are demanded. They are free to do as they please—they write their own tickets. They sleep in the beautiful gothic building erected for them but they live in an ivory tower. All this requires an expenditure of funds, but we are a wealthy nation, and a racing stable is far more expensive. The men in the tower read, they talk, they think, and, in season, write. But they are above the battle, have no ax to grind, no bias to warp their judgment and are free to seek knowledge, each in his own way.

If the benefits of the ivory tower depended on such a foundation as the Institute for Advanced Studies, there would be small opportunity for the American sociologist. Fortunately this is not necessary. The thinker is benefitted and not hindered if he has a seminar of advanced students whom he can inform of his conclusions as they emerge. To explain one's thoughts to others is not only a benefit to the others who hear, but is also an important aid to the thinker, since it helps him to clarify his thought. There is no sociologist anywhere who is denied the benefits of the ivory tower.

From the foregoing discussion we have seen that sociology in America has had an extraordinary growth and that the productivity of our research workers is most gratifying. But we have also been made to realize that the authority and prestige of our science is far short of the deference and respect which a mature science should and does command. In seeking the reason for this condition we called attention to our youth, which is a self-curing disorder, and to the bias and prejudice of the worker and of his public which greatly interfere with the acceptance of his conclusions. We have called attention to the position of the men who insist that the disinterestedness, objectivity and rationality of science is impossible to the sociologist. This is tantamount to the view that sociology can never be a science. We have mentioned the school which insists that, even if possible, scientific objectivity is to be deprecated. Admitting by implication that a scientific sociology is possible, this view holds that it is wrong. The first of these is a counsel of despair and the second would, if carried out to its logical conclusion, reduce sociology to the level of muckraking journalism.

Our contention here is that the ivory tower, the symbol of objective thought is as possible to the sociologist as to the physicist and that scientists working in this field can labor with disinterestedness and objectivity. Moreover, it would appear that in no other way can the high opinion which we covet be achieved.

We have been concerned with the bias and prejudice of the sociologist which is so fatal. There is another side to this question, namely, the bias and prejudice of the audience, the public. Beyond question, this is a serious matter but, also beyond question, it will take care of itself, and the triumph of the scientist who has discovered truth and can prove that he has discovered it, giving the irrefutable grounds for his conclusions, is inevitable.

For recall that the mature sciences whose triumphs we admire almost with envy had to meet this difficulty. In the whole long history of scientific discoveries, none was so emotionally disturbing as the announcement of the revolution of the earth. Men were imprisoned for uttering

it. History records the violent emotional opposition to the work of the geologists who reckoned the age of the earth from the fossils. The resistance to the conclusions of the biologists has not yet ceased but the power of truth is great and its triumph sure. They overcame prejudice with proved truth.

Sociologists, however objective, will find some of their discoveries distasteful to the public but, if they are authentic discoveries, their acceptance is only a matter of time.

No sociologist who understands human nature is disturbed when men show bias. The C. I. O. and the Manufacturers' Association are entitled to their predilections and we seek only to understand them. No one, surely no one, objects to the effort of men of good will to try improve the lot of the poor (now called "underprivileged") or the delinquent or the paroled convict. What is to be opposed is the view that, since some men confess bias and prejudice, no man can ever claim to be free from such defects. What is to be opposed is the view that, since some sociologists are interested in reform movements, all who engage in scientific research are shirkers.

Sociology exists because men believe in the possibility of a science of human nature, and neither the pessimism of the Swede nor the complaints of the evangelicals will prevail against the straight thinking of those who with disinterestedness and objectivity continue their efforts. Our task, though difficult, is not impossible and the need for our perfected work was never so great as now.

The ivory tower is a symbol for the disinterested search for truth. It is a symbol of the search for knowledge for its own sake; for useless knowledge, meaning knowledge for which no use has yet been found. The pursuit of knowledge for its own sake has been justified by recalling that such knowledge has led to results of great value. This is ample justification, but even more important is the fact that training in disinterested pursuit of truth will be valuable training for the investigation of highly emotional questions which can, assuredly, be done scientifically.

In advocating the objectivity of the ivory tower, it is not meant that the suggestion is new. There are many who have not bowed the knee to Baal. Scientific sociologists are not a few, and the attacks upon them by pessimists and evangelicals alike bear witness to this fact. When scientific objectivity becomes universal among us, the world will begin to accord the deference now denied us and to profit by our work as now they do not.

Let the young sociologist be of good cheer. A scientific sociology is desperately needed. Moreover, it is possible. But to create it there must be disinterestedness, objectivity, rationality—poetically symbolized by the image of the Ivory Tower.

Simple Underconsumption

WENDELL GORDON

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I

The underconsumption proposition (that all the goods produced are not automatically saleable within a reasonable time) was "disproved" by classical and neo-classical economics with the Law of Supply and Demand and by the use of a set of supply and demand curves (used in conjunction with the argument that the equilibrium prices, which will prevail over time, will be established at a level that will clear the market). Partial and temporary underconsumption was admitted to be a possibility only pending the working out of the forces leading to equilibrium; and the adjustment was assumed to occur within a reasonable time.

Thus Jean Baptiste Say's Law of Supply and Demand stated that "you will have bought, and everybody must buy, the objects of want or desire, each with the value of his respective products transformed into money for the moment only." Say assumed an identity between the return to the factors of production on the one hand and the purchasing power available to take the goods produced by those same factors off the market. He also assumed that the role of money in the process was strictly neutral. Such was the process by which classical economics assumed that the amount of purchasing power exactly necessary to take all the goods off the market got into the hands of consumers.

The operation of the other aspect of the process, the relation between buyers and sellers, was thought by classical economists to proceed in a complementary way. Buyers and sellers would agree on individual prices which would clear the market in a process described by John Stuart Mill as follows:

Demand and supply, the quantity demanded and the quantity supplied, will be made equal. If unequal at any moment, competition equalizes them, and the manner in which this is done is by an adjustment of the value. If the demand increases, the value rises; if the demand diminishes, the value falls: again, if the supply fall off, the value rises; and falls, if the supply is increased. The rise or the fall continues until the demand and supply which a commodity will bring in any market, is no other than the value which, in that market, gives a demand just sufficient to carry off the existing or expected supply.

This, then, is the Law of Value . . . *

*Jean Baptiste Say, *A Treatise on Political Economy* (New American Edition; Philadelphia: Grigg, Elliott and Co., 1847), p. 133.

*John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy* (New Impression; New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), p. 272.

Such was the standard argument of classical and neo-classical economics. Whether Mill's Law of Value is a necessary corollary of Say's Law of Supply and Demand or whether either would assure equality of supply and demand without the other is a point which does not need to be argued in this paper. The thesis here is that neither is a satisfactory description of what goes on in the real world.

Incidentally it would seem that Keynesian economics is tarred with much the same brush as is the Law of Value, even though Keynes was at great pains to deny the validity of the Law of Supply and Demand. He assumes competition and economic men;³ and in the context where he admits the possibility of surplus stocks, he indicates a belief that they are being held by economic men because it is more profitable to hold them than to sell them.⁴ Thus, for Keynes, surplus stocks are not unsaleable goods; they are rather goods which the business man finds it judicious to hold rather than to sell. They are not, properly speaking, surpluses in the sense in which the word is used in this article.

It would therefore seem justified to say that the Keynesian proposition differs from the Law of Value in this minor respect: According to Keynes businessmen will hold goods only if it is judicious to do so. Whereas according to the Law of Value they can sell whatever they produce. In neither case is it possible for unsaleable surpluses to occur.

By contrast with the orthodox economists who argued that surpluses were impossible or short-lived, there have long been writers, mainly in the underworld of economics, who have maintained that the facts belie the logic, that there are surpluses, and that there must be a better logic than that of the Law of Supply and Demand, if it could only be found. But proponents of the underconsumption argument have argued variously.

If commodities were only to be compared and exchanged with each other, then indeed it would be true that, if they were all increased in their proper proportions to any extent, they would continue to bear among themselves the same relative value; but if we compare them, as we certainly ought to do, with the means of producing them, and with the numbers and wants of the consumers, then a great increase of produce with comparatively stationary numbers or with wants diminished by parsimony, must necessarily occasion a great fall of value estimated in labour, so that the same produce, though it might not have *cost* the same quantity of labour as before, would no longer *command* the same quantity; and both the power of accumulation and the motive to accumulate would be strongly checked.

If, in the process of saving, all that was lost by the capitalist was gained by the labourer, the check to the progress of wealth would be but temporary, as stated by

³John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., c. 1936), pp. 4-22. The specific denial of Say's law is to be found: pp. 18-21 and p. 26.

⁴See Keynes' discussion of "user cost," page 70, and also pages 226, 317-318 in the *General Theory*.

Mr. Ricardo; and the consequences need not be apprehended. But if the conversion of revenue into capital pushed beyond a certain point must, by diminishing the effectual demand for produce, throw the labouring classes out of employment, it is obvious that the adoption of parsimonious habits beyond a certain point, may be accompanied by the most distressing effects at first, and by a marked depression of wealth and population afterwards.⁸

Malthus, so far as these views were concerned, was not in the classical tradition. The views of Ricardo, and of Say and Mill, prevailed over those of Malthus, and for many years no respectable economist maintained that general underconsumption was possible.

The underconsumption idea was revived by J. A. Hobson in the 1870's. His argument, at one time, was stated as follows:

In other words, there exists at any given time an economically sound ratio between spending and saving. Excessive spending (as in the war) encroaches on saved capital, and impairs future productivity. Excessive saving operates, through, deficient demand for commodities, to slacken the sinews of production and produce more capital goods than are able to be put to full productive use.⁹

Neither of Malthus' arguments is adequate. But his first argument, that under certain circumstances people will literally fail to buy, is much nearer to important truth than his second argument, that it is possible to save too much. It is too bad that Hobson, in his turn, used an argument more closely related to Malthus' second and maintained that the difficulty, when surpluses exist, is due to the existence of a wrong ratio between spending and saving. It may be true that, under a given set of conditions, a certain ratio between spending and saving would be necessary to clear the market. However, it seems more probable that the nature of this ratio is not the crux of the problem at all.

Gordon Hayes, writing much later and disturbed, undoubtedly, by the failure of Malthus and Hobson to prove their case, argued that the possibility of underconsumption is somehow dependent on the magic of compound interest. He said:

Suppose now that Z hears about the magic of compound interest and decides to save the income from his savings . . . The only man who has the money to buy it [the \$100 worth of goods which were created with Z's \$2000 of savings] refuses to do so. He wants to save that sum of money. A market glut will have been created.

. . .

Please note that the many things that are frequently cited as explanations of unemployment are not involved here. There are no "sticky" prices, no exorbitant demands by workers, no taxes that penalize investment, no administration that destroys confi-

⁸Thomas Robert Malthus, *The Principles of Political Economy* (London: William Pickering, 1836. Reprinted in 1936 by the International Economic Circle, Tokyo, in collaboration with the London School of Economics and Political Science), pp. 317, 326.

⁹J. A. Hobson, *The Economics of Unemployment* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1922), pp. 8, 9.

dence. Nothing at all has happened to bring sorrow into this garden except an attempt to save at compound interest—a refusal to consume the fruits of previous saving.⁷

It seems probable that surpluses of unsaleable goods are possible whether or not the saver chooses to save the interest derived from his investment. Hayes' earlier more general statement, that "money that is held idle does not take any goods or services off the market,"⁸ is a far more meaningful statement, although needing further analysis. It is too bad that, in the following chapter, when he refines the argument, Hayes makes his case depend upon the compound interest proposition.

It is the thesis of this article that, although Malthus, Hobson, and Gordon Hayes are nearer to the truth than the orthodox economists who have denied the possibility of general overproduction, they nevertheless have not satisfactorily come to grips with the problem. It is also the thesis of this article that the proposition that the return to the factors is the purchasing power with which the goods produced by the factors are taken off the market is untrue, as is the proposition that the price of a commodity will necessarily be established at a level that will clear the market.

II

It is important to establish theoretically the possibility that surpluses of unsaleable goods may exist at a given time, or after the goods have been on sale for a reasonable period of time. Of course the practical possibility of surpluses is a fact long ago established—in spite of the Law of Supply and Demand.

During the period of time under consideration the goods in question are offered for sale at a variety of prices. Of fundamental importance in this situation is the fact that *these prices have not yet been paid for the goods and therefore cannot yet constitute the return to the factors of production, with which the goods will be bought*. The proposition of classical economics that the supply of goods constitutes the demand for those particular goods is in fundamental error in a money economy.

Of course it is true that some of the factors may have to be paid before the ultimate sale of the goods. The employer may have to pay labor at the end of the week and bondholders quarterly whether or not his goods have already been sold, and conceivably the laborer or the bondholder could use the pay or the interest to buy some of the goods in question. But the employer is almost certainly going to have to wait till after the sale to realize his profits, a good many of the employees are

⁷H. Gordon Hayes, *Spending, Saving, and Employment* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), pp. 31 and 32.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 11.

going to have to wait till after the sale to realize their salaries, and the bondholders may never get their interest. In any event it is certain that all the purchasing power actually used to buy the stock of goods in existence at a certain time is not derived from the return paid to the factors of production who produced it.

The sequence of events indicates that, on the whole, goods are purchased with the return which the factors of production received for producing earlier goods, increased or decreased by the expansion or of contraction of the supply of money or credit and the use of some of the return to the factors paid in connection with the production of those goods.

III

At the beginning of a given time period there is a certain supply of goods being offered on the market for sale. The time period selected is long enough so that it "ought" to be possible to sell all the original goods during it—given Mill's Law of Value.⁹ A surplus is defined as any of the original goods left at the end of the time period. The problem is to establish the possibility that a surplus, so defined, may exist. And it is submitted that this is a meaningful definition of surplus—inventories or stocks of goods that hang on and on as a "drug on the market."¹⁰

The purchasing power available to buy the original supply of goods consists of (1) the purchasing power in the hands of people at the beginning of the time period (money and credit— and the possibility of bartering goods for goods), plus (2) the additional money and credit which may be created during the period, minus (3) the amount of money and credit that may be destroyed during the period, plus (4) some of the return to the factors of production paid in connection with the production of those goods. Of course the use of this latter involves the use of some of the purchasing power covered in (1), (2), and (3) a second time. Any given bit of purchasing power may be used more than once, and the total of it may turn over more (or less) than once during the period of time in question.

⁹Of course more goods will come on the market during this period. But for present purposes it is merely desirable to establish the possibility that some of the original supply of goods may remain unsold. If anything, the possibility that additional goods will come on the market makes this more rather than less likely. These new goods also have the problem of finding a market. In any event it is thought that the disregarding of the possibility that additional goods will come on the market during the period does not invalidate the analysis.

¹⁰It is not necessary to introduce the concept of hoarding to establish this possibility because it is conceivable, as was pointed out in the preceding section, that the actual payment of the factors will not occur until after the sale of the goods.

It is perhaps worth commenting at this point on the oft repeated but little appreciated proposition that banks (and other agencies also, for that matter) manufacture credit. Credit may be created by banks without its being necessary that the credit so extended have any necessary relation to the creation of an equivalent amount of goods in the productive process. For example, a credit may be advanced against the security of a little worthless land, owned by a friend of the president of the bank, and which is overvalued for the purpose of the loan. Or a given share of corporate stock may be residing in a safety deposit box one day and the next day may serve as the security behind a bank loan which enables the borrower to buy some goods. The extension, or lack of it, of the credit in this latter case, was made possible by a share of stock whose relation to the productive process was the same the day before it served as the basis for the credit extension as the day after. The stock may have been issued originally fifty years ago and its current value as security for a loan may have nothing to do with current production. Another example of this sort of thing which is well-known in the day to day lives of people is the extension of credit to buyers using the installment plan. In the case of installment buying consumers obviously pass into the possession of goods without, at least in the first instance, paying for those goods with funds obtained by them as the result of their work in the productive process. Of course the possibility that in some cases stores will finance the extension of installment credit by borrowing from banks against the security of the goods in question does not disprove the fundamental thesis. All that need be established, in order to prove the case that there is no necessary relation between the productive process and the quantity of purchasing power, is that *some* of the purchasing power has been created out of whole cloth, that the store has said in one case: "Go ahead and take this item now and pay us later," without at the same time covering itself by borrowing from the bank. Stores certainly may advance installment credit, for long enough to cause trouble, without the credit being backed at all by funds paid to one of the factors of production as a reward for his endeavor.

The extreme example of the working of this process would be the printing of new paper money by the government and the giving of the money by the government to consumers. But the creation of money by banks against the security of government bonds is a more refined example.

Of course if prices were affected by the creation of new money and credit precisely as the simple quantity theory of money would indicate, the manufacture of credit would be of no significance in invalidating the Law of Supply and Demand. But prices do not vary in the same

proportion as the quantity of money and credit varies. And effective purchasing power in society does depend not only on how much money and credit is injected into the economy but also on the price levels and on the speed with which buyers choose to use the money. At any rate there is nothing fixed and immutable about the supply of purchasing power available to take the given quantity of goods off the market. The question is not whether there is enough money and credit to buy all the goods (or whether people would like to buy all the goods). The question is whether the purchasing power will be so used. And this is up to uneconomic men.

Thus it is not true that money is only a neutral intermediary, as Say maintained, in a process which involves fundamentally the purchase of goods with the purchasing power which is the cost of production of those goods. It certainly is not true that credit creation is neutral in terms of its effect on consumption. It is of course true that the consumer is a debtor and the bank, or other lending agency, is an offsetting creditor. But the bank may have placed effective purchasing power in the hands of the consumer without having taken effective purchasing power from anyone.

On the reverse side of this shield, and this is of importance for demonstrating the possibility of surpluses, there exists the possibility that some of the return to the factors of production may not be used in the purchase of goods or for investment either. It may be deposited in a bank and lie idle from then on (or at least for long enough to cause trouble), if the bank fails to make a loan using it as reserves.¹¹

Or, certain of the purchasing power in existence may be arbitrarily destroyed without relation to the availability of goods for sale on the market (and without a proportionate effect on the price level). Thus, following 1929, it is probably true that the most aggravating element in the situation was contraction of purchases.¹² Elements causing the contraction of purchases were bank contraction of credit, consumer psychology, and increasing unemployment as the process fed on itself. Arbitrary

¹¹This is a point which Gordon Hayes makes (Chapter II of *Spending, Saving, and Employment*, and especially page 20). It is too bad that when he actually works out the argument in Chapter IV, pp. 30 and 31, he makes the argument depend on compound interest.

¹²This is true in spite of the fact that the decline in production in the capital goods industries was far greater, relatively, than the decline in consumer purchases. And it is true because the producer of capital goods is influenced in his decision as to whether to produce by the situation in the realm of consumption. He may engage in no production whatever because there is a feeling of pessimism in the air, consumption is falling off, and people are trying to hoard their money, or because such are his expectations.

In terms of business cycle theory there is probably very little to be gained by trying to place a finger on the initial unfortunate development that precipitates the

decisions (in which other factors more than outweighed the effect of falling prices in tending to increase demand à la Mill's Law of Value) led to a major contraction of consumer buying—both absolutely and relative to the available goods for sale. Certain bumper crops made this relationship even worse. And the effort to fight the depression by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation approach—the increasing of investment, particularly by the granting of credit to the capital goods industry and to the moribund railroads—was not calculated to be most effective in improving this situation. The capital goods industries already had the excess capacity. The surpluses and excess capacity were facts. An approach to the problem which called for credits which would, if they accomplished anything, increase the surpluses and excess capacity without assuring a market for the goods produced was not (is not) the best way to deal with the difficulties prevailing at the bottom of a depression. This is not to say that expanding productive capacity is undesirable. It is highly desirable, if the goods can find a market. But when the initial problem is surpluses and excess capacity (combined with widespread want) as it was in the early thirties, the initial approach should emphasize building up consumption; and later as the surpluses are consumed and the excess capacity is used, it becomes increasingly desirable to be concerned about investment and expanding capacity.

Parenthetically, it may be desirable to say that a cooperative attitude by business men at this stage in the business cycle gets them into far less trouble (in terms of government interference) than does an unsympathetic attitude. At the bottom of the depression the government is the only agency in a position to take effectively the measures necessary to increase consumption. The sooner business responds favorably to this increase in demand—especially with expanding payrolls which will increase demand further—the less need there is for the government to continue and expand its part of the program. So, from the

downswing, the pessimism, and the depression. The precipitating causes would seem to vary from depression to depression.

The symptoms are the disease. And one may catch a cold because of sitting outside on a raw, windy afternoon or because of sitting inside in a movie in front of someone who has a cold—bearing in mind that the germs are always present. The making and maintaining of a better world calls for continuing struggle. There is no panacea, no perfect set of instructions, which, if established, would solve man's economic problems for all time, *regardless of how much man himself acted.*

Man must be on guard against the epidemic. He can do certain things calculated to make it less likely that the epidemic will occur. But he had best not rely on the idea that the particular little thing which stopped the epidemic last time will stop it next time, although it may be worth trying. He cannot even count on the same kind of epidemic next time.

The best we can hope to do is to take as much into account as we can—and take measures calculated to be as effective as possible in dealing with the great problems as we see them.

viewpoint of business, it would have been serving its own interests better in the middle 1930's by expanding its activities, rather than curtailing them in the fear of more government interference.

It is thought to follow from the preceding analysis that the purchasing power available to buy goods is not necessarily the same in quantity as the purchasing power which is the return to the factors of production who produced the goods. There is no necessary relationship between the size of this purchasing power figure and the aggregate of all the money prices of the original goods offered for sale. Also there is no force which compels the use of the purchasing power in question in buying the original goods or which prevents some of it from being used twice in the purchase of those goods.

On the consumer side, the sum of purchasing power which is available at the beginning of the time period (or which will be available during the time period) is no fixed and immutable quantity which is exactly equal to the total of the prices of all the goods being offered for sale. Whether it is adequate to buy all the goods depends on whether it is used to buy all the goods—an obvious truism. And whether this happens is going to depend on the prices would-be sellers choose to ask and on the reaction of buyers. What is important is the caprice and prejudice of human beings and not the judgment of economic men.

Analysis in terms of demand and supply curves and assuming the existence of economic men indicates that sellers would vary prices until they established them at a level which would move all the goods. Necessary to this line of argument is the idea of the fixed demand curve sloping downward to the right—or perhaps more generously stated—the idea that as prices fall people with purchasing power will buy more quantity.

But there is no enforceable law that controls either the height of the prices that will be set or the reaction of prospective purchasers to those prices. They may buy or they may not buy.

The fundamental error is the economic man assumption and as a corollary the assumption of the manner in which demand and supply interact.

The enterprise selling goods can vary prices only within a limited range and still cover its previous commitments (i.e., pay off the wholesaler, or the manufacturer, or the raw material supplier, or the bank, or pay its own employees, or reward the proprietor with what he considers to be enough profit). On the other hand buyers may react to falling prices with the thought that they will fall yet farther. And they will hold off buying as the result of falling prices rather than rushing into the market. The psychology of a situation in which money

prices are falling is likely to create the pessimism which makes it impossible to sell the goods—even at ever lower prices. Such conditions are likely to prevail during the downswing period of the business cycle. Or if prices are rising purchasers may rush in to buy before they rise farther and thus encourage them in their upward rise—rather than reacting to rising prices by buying less. This is likely to be true of the upswing period of the cycle.

Thus demand and supply may not necessarily interact to set an equilibrium price within any reasonable period of time; and a price that will clear the market is not inevitably arrived at by a process of higgling among buyers and sellers.

The operation of pricing, as the logic of the demand-supply analysis (Mill's Law of Value) indicates, is dependent upon the existence of economic men with a special kind of psychological reaction. They must buy more when prices are lower, less when they are higher; and the whole nature of their demands must not be changed by the mere fact that price alone changes during the passage of a *little* time. But men are not economic men and the adjustment process does not work out according to the model.

Imperfectly informed sellers set initial prices that are not at the level which will equate supply and demand. And when they change their prices in an effort to find that level, it develops that they cannot count on the demand curve staying put, *during a period of time*, while they are making their price changes, or even that they can count on its sloping downward to the right.

And then to make matters worse there are the commodities for which demand is fairly inelastic anyway and the price could come down to zero and all the goods still would not be sold. Then, too, there are the agricultural commodities which are characterized by inelastic supply. It may take a disastrous price drop in certain years to move all of a particular crop; or it may not be possible to move the whole crop regardless of how low the price goes—shades of the cotton, coffee, wheat, and sugar surpluses of the period between the wars.

But perhaps most important of all the considerations making the proper price adjustment difficult is the "stickiness" of prices. It is not easy to change prices on nationally advertised goods; a retailer will hesitate to mark down a price and in consequence fail to obtain the standard mark-up when the item is sold; legally enforced "price-maintenance" is even possible in many cases. It certainly is not easy to adjust the price of goods by microscopic increments on a national scale in the search for the equilibrium price that will clear the market. And even if much goods, which is temporarily unsaleable on any acceptable terms, would

ultimately fetch an acceptable price, the chance is good that those goods will rot, mildew, or be eaten by moths, rust or corrosion before that eventuality occurs.

IV

Keynesian analysis is an improvement over orthodox price analysis in many ways. It admits the possibility of unemployment, even though it tends to conceal the possibility of surpluses.

Or, as stated by Keynes: "Thus, to justify any given amount of employment there must be an amount of current investment sufficient to absorb the excess of total output over what the community chooses to consume when employment is at the given level."¹³ What is involved in this proposition is substantially more meaningful than the Say's Law statement. The employer will calculate that he will be able to sell a certain amount before he will produce it. And sales represent a combination of sales to consumers and sales for investment. For Keynes, an insufficiency of effective demand will have an effect on the volume of employment. Fewer workers will be hired.¹⁴ The result is unemployment, not unsaleable surpluses, it would seem. Elsewhere, when Keynes defines investments, the logic of the definition would require that unsold inventories be included—if it is possible for unsold inventories to exist.¹⁵

Keynes uses marginal analysis and assumes competition in a world where one of the basic elements in the difficulty is due to the fact that men are not economic men and the marginal concept is not particularly meaningful.

In addition it would seem that the beautiful simplicity of the system is possible in part at least because of two questionable concepts. (1) Unsold inventories and (2) government expenditures have to fit into the system as investments.¹⁶ It might be alleged that to quibble with this use of words is to quibble over definitions; and a person is entitled to define his terms as he chooses. In answer it may be said that what is involved is classification; and different classifications *may be* more or less useful or realistic.

¹³John Maynard Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., c. 1936), p. 27.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 61-65 and 74-76.

¹⁶Unsold inventories have to be considered investment or else one is forced to the even more doubtful position that they are impossible in a world of economic men who anticipate demand so well that they do not overproduce. And in the logic of the system they are held, when they are held, because it is more profitable to hold them than to sell them, rather than because they are for practical purposes unsaleable.

The Keynesians consider investment to be the great dynamic force in our economy. But if there is anything dynamic about unsold inventory, especially during such years as 1930, 1931, and 1932, it is not entirely clear what it is.

With regard to government expenditures, it may be said that they are dynamic, in the sense that when the government spends money once that money is spent once, at least. But net government deficits are defined as investment, whether the expenditures are to provide soup and bread for a breadline or wages for rakers of leaves. If such government expenditures are defined as investment, it follows that the government is stimulating investment rather than consumption when it makes them. But making them so by definition is the only procedure that will justify calling them investment rather than consumption expenditures, unless one chooses to call this "investment in human beings."

Thus the fact that government expenditures have been defined by the Keynesians as investment provides them with part of the leverage (to which they are not entitled) for alleging that investment is the great dynamic force in the economy. But much of government expenditure can at least as well be considered to build up consumption as investment. If this is true, and if government expenditures are dynamic, the Keynesians are not entitled to say that investment is the one dynamic force and that a given amount of consumption will follow from a given amount of investment because of the manner in which the multiplier works.

To look at this problem in a slightly different way, any definition of investment which defines investment so that all credit manufactured by banks is used to finance investment is also characterized by a dubious classification. Bank manufactured credit which is used to finance automobile purchases and refrigerator purchases is consumer credit. Liberal time payment terms to encourage buying are consumer credit, and such credit is dynamic. It may also be manufactured, and the manufacture of such credit by stores, or by stores with the assistance of banks—or the failure to manufacture it—does make a difference in our society with regard to who has access to goods and whether the goods can be sold at all. Liberal extension of such consumer credit can make for greater effective demand in our society, especially during depression years, when the problem is more immediately one of surpluses and unused capacity than of the immediate need for investment to build up productive capacity.

Extension of credit to consumers can have at least as dynamic an effect as extension of credit to producers. The money gets into the same stream—regardless of the point at which it enters. And it is at least

as likely (if not more likely) *to flow* if it enters the stream via consumers as if it enters via producers. And if it enters via consumers the *first use* of the money is far more serviceable in meeting human needs than is the case with funds advanced to producers, especially during times when surpluses of consumer goods are a problem—as is invariably the case during depressions.

There may be a multiplier at work (even if it is not a constant). But what it has to work on is not investment alone. And if large sums of money are placed in the hands of the poorer people, in the first instance they will be used 100% to finance consumption—even if the multiplier is a constant of three or four. And it is probably neither a constant nor three or four. The idea that there is a predictable relationship between a given quantity of new investment and change in national income is almost certainly not correct. There probably is a relationship; but it would not be far amiss to say with regard to any given bit of new investment that its effect on national income is highly unpredictable. The effect of a given bit of new money or of new investment on national income is going to vary a great deal depending on the channels through which it is flowing. Investment in the production of agricultural machinery during a period of farm surplus is likely to have a lamentably small effect on national income. The workers who make the machinery may get their wages, but the employer will not get his profits. In addition, although the original sum of investment may start to move through the stream, there is not additional movement (no multiplying effect) in connection with the sale of what has been produced. Such an untoward development is possible because the argument that the direction of investment is controlled by the relationship between the rate of interest and the marginal efficiency of capital is not entirely true in our world of uneconomic men, vested interests, and pressure groups.

Whether there is an exact multiplier which is anything like a constant, which can be applied to a great sum of investment made over a long period of time is doubtful. This is going to depend upon the distribution of income and on other factors. But it is far from proven that it is correct to say that there is a constant multiplier or anything like a constant multiplier which will determine the effect of a marginal bit of investment on income. A marginal bit of investment funds may find its way into the hands of a given individual, and he may literally not use the funds at all—about what business did with the original RFC loans during the later part of the Hoover administration. Or a given bit of money may bog down at any stage in making the circle of expenditures for consumption, production, and so on.

Investment does not occur in infinitesimally small doses spread evenly through the economy. It occurs in large doses here and there; and it is misleading to speak of small increments of investment as occurring at a margin where the marginal efficiency of capital is uniform regardless of the nature of the investment.

This is true because, as was said above, the use of the investment funds may not be conditioned by the precise study of the marginal efficiency of capital and the rate of interest. Men are no more economic men for Keynes than they were for John Stuart Mill, and developments do not occur by infinitesimally small increments for Keynes any more than they did for Mill.

This analysis would seem to provide a basis for dealing with one of the three great problems of our economic system. I assume these problems to be (1) the providing of a minimum, decent standard of living *at least for everybody all the time*, (2) the increasing of per capita productivity, and (3) the control, in the public interest, of the location of power.

It is the first problem, that of providing a minimum, decent standard of living, with which we are now equipped to deal. A job should be guaranteed to everyone who wants one and is willing to make a sincere effort to do the job. Perhaps the government can aid private enterprise in its effort to provide work. But the government, as the residual legatee in connection with such problems, must be prepared to hire anyone whom private enterprise cannot hire. Possibly the pay guaranteed should be the minimum of the Wages and Hours Act, and the obtaining of any wage higher than that would continue to depend on the individual's abilities—at least to the extent that it has in the past.

V

The fundamental thesis of this article is that goods are not bought with the purchasing power which is the return to the factors of production who produced them. They may not get this return until after the goods are sold. But rather they are bought with the return paid to the factors of production in connection with earlier goods production, increased or decreased by the expansion or contraction of money and credit, and involving the possibility of some use of the return which the factors receive for producing the current goods.

There is no particular reason to expect that the total of goods (being priced and sold by uneconomic men) will be sold during any given period of time, to all the uneconomic buyers—who are as likely to decide, because the price of something is coming down, that it is not

to be bought as that it should be. And the possibility that some of the goods will remain unsold at the end of the time period definitely exists. Surpluses are both theoretically possible and observable in practice.

And in a world where the ability of producers to turn out goods is superior to the ability of the marketing system to get them sold, it is fruitful to approach the economic problem as involving building up consumption as well as building up investment. This is especially true during depression years when the pressing problems are surpluses, excess capacity, and human want rather than need for new capital goods.

The Influence of Cultural Backgrounds on Farming Practices in a Czech-American Rural Community*

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In many parts of the United States, Czech-American farmers have won recognition for being successful in the pursuit of their self-chosen occupation. Anderson's study¹, for example, points out that Czech farmers have been more successful in a selected area in Virginia than have the native farmers.

They (the Czechs) came with little money and without credit. The land they bought was the poorest on the market and had to be cleared of second growth or redeemed from infertility. They had no knowledge of local farming; and frequently when they turned to the natives for advice, they were made the butt of practical jokes.

Today these same foreigners are counted, even by the Virginians, among the best farmers in the region. They are trusted where the natives often want for credit. Their farms are conspicuously attractive and fertile. All about them is farm tenancy, and most of the old Virginia families have been dispossessed of their once famous estates; yet 90 per cent of the farms of the Czechoslovaks are conceded to be free from debt. In their methods of farming, they have outstripped the natives.²

Lynch³ drew virtually the same conclusions in Oklahoma. In a study which dealt mainly with the stability of different farm groups, he noted that some 50 years ago Czechs and native white farmers settled on land which was similar in topography and fertility. The Czechs and natives white groups met the problems of the same soil, the same climatic and economic conditions and produced the same major crops. Yet the results of a survey of this area revealed that after 50 years of farming, the Czechs made more progress than did the native whites in several respects. For instance, the native white groups had more tenancy, land in poorer condition, poorer homes, and less equipment as a group than did the Czechs.⁴

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¹Nels Anderson, "Petersburg: A Study of a Colony of Czechoslovakian Farmers in Virginia," in Edmund de S. Brunner, *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, Inc., 1929).

²*Ibid*, pp. 183-184.

³Russell W. Lynch, *Czech Farmers in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College Bulletin No. 13, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1942).

⁴*Ibid*, p. 104.

A report of the Immigration Commission asserts that: ". . . there are no better, more intelligent, or more prosperous farmers in Nebraska than are the Bohemians."⁸ The same report comments favorably on the Czech farmers in Texas.⁹ In a recent survey of a Texas Czech-American rural farming community, Czech⁷ farmers are shown to be comparatively more successful and industrious than are their neighboring fellow citizens who belong to other nationalities.

Perhaps it would be only natural to condemn the members of a specific nationality group if their actions deviated from the norms of their neighbors in such a way as to indicate a lower level or standard of living, a lesser degree of education, or an inability to meet life situations. When they appear to perform these functions even better than the so-called native, however, then it should prove both interesting and useful to investigate the cultural background of the group members in an attempt to point out some of the factors which are responsible for their success.

The question, then, arises as to what farming practices and traditions account for the apparent success of Czech farmers.⁸ Many would insist that the explanation does not lie in such biological factors as racial origin or in geographic factors or soil and climate.⁹ Rather, one needs to look to the cultural factors to demonstrate why the Czechs live and farm as they do. Since the core of any culture is the value system which ordinarily is less subject to change than the technological or economic aspects of our life, it is difficult to over-emphasize the importance of this system in explaining the success of Czechs in the farming enterprise. The value system is generally the key to differences in modes of living that are so unlike that they can be distinguished simply by looking at such externals as the condition of land and the amount and character of farm equipment. One of the primary elements in the Czech farmers' value system is the way in which he views farming as a more or less self-contained "way

⁸Reports of the Immigration Commission, "Immigrants in Industries; Recent Immigrants in Agriculture," Senate Documents LXXXIV, No. 663, 61st Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 379.

⁹*Ibid.*

⁷The Czechs discussed in this survey are farmers who came directly from Czechoslovakia to Texas and then to the Snook community. All of these people have been American citizens for some time, and the term Czech is used merely for the sake of convenience to differentiate between the person of Czech and non-Czech origin.

⁸Although this paper deals largely with a successful Czech-American farming community in Texas, and apparently many others are outstanding, it is not assumed that all Czech-American farming communities have been successful.

⁹Kimball Young, for example, states that it is not necessary to explain the traits in terms of heredity; they can be accounted for quite easily in terms of cultural conditioning. *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture* (New York: American Book Company, 1942), p. 736.

of life" and not simply as another way of making a living. He is concerned primarily with the opportunities which farm life offers for satisfactory living and happiness and only secondarily in the price and market economy. Farming, then, is not only a distinctive form of work with the Czech, but it is a distinctive mode of life. Using this statement as its central thesis, this paper is concerned with the role of cultural practices and the cultural conditioning which are fundamental to present-day farming practices in Snook, a Czech-American community which is located in South Central Texas. To gain a comprehensive understanding of why the Czechs farm and live the way they do would require a rather detailed examination of their entire culture. In the interest of space, only those cultural elements which appear to the author to be the most significant in affecting the Czech system of agriculture are considered.

The Snook community occupies about 15 square miles in the east central section of Burleson County, Texas. The first Czech family arrived in this area in 1884 and, within the brief span of about ten years, the community was settled by members of this nationality group. A Czech "cultural island" was thus created and, by their own preference, the people have managed to remain virtually insulated from intimate contact with the inhabitants of surrounding areas. At the present time, over 97 per cent of Snook's residents are Czechs. The climate and "black waxy" soils in the locality are ideal for cotton farming, and agriculture dominates the very existence and influences the attitudes of virtually every community resident. Some of the farming practices in use by the Czechs clearly represent a pattern of farming that was learned abroad and that has been built up from earliest infancy in an environment unlike that predominating in most of the United States. Immigrant Czechs have so thoroughly indoctrinated their sons and grandsons with certain attitudes and traditions concerning agricultural practices and techniques that the latter often act on the basis of Old World characteristics. Therefore, one must go back to pioneer days to discover considerations or conditioning factors that have been responsible, at least in part, for the relative success that Czechs enjoy in the farming enterprise in the Snook community today.

The Role of Inadequate Land Resources

One of the primary conditioning factors in the agricultural background of the Czech was inadequate land resources. This factor created a land hungry peasantry. Land hunger had its origin under the Hapsburg regime, for under their rule only small holdings were left to Czech peasants. According to the last census prior to World War I, in the ex-Austrian territories of Bohemia and Moravia, over one million small farmers were permitted holdings of no more than five acres in size per

family. This meant that over 70 per cent of all land owners owned only 6.5 per cent of the land area.¹⁰ Land, in fact, was at such a premium that the whole stratification system of Czechoslovakia was conducive to land worship. Being an agrarian country in which most political rights and prestige were invested in property holders, a deep respect for land had developed through the centuries. This persistent desire for land became a symbol of attainment and was transplanted to America and transmitted to the younger generations of today with such force that the ownership of land is valued above almost everything else on earth. Land ownership is a symbol of wealth and security. The ownership of a farm with the necessary buildings and equipment is the criterion by which the Czech measures his success.

Habits of Land Ownership

So deeply is this attitude towards land imbedded in the minds of the Czechs that its ownership is characteristic not only of the farmers but also of those engaged in other occupations. (See table 1) Statistics reveal that almost 70 per cent of the farmers in the community own the land which they operate. This figure is perhaps more meaningful, how-

TABLE I
HEADS OF FARM FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
TENURE STATUS AND GENERATION,
SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1948*

GENERATION	TOTAL NUMBER	FARM OWNERS		FARM RENTERS	
		NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL NUMBER
First	5	4	80	1	20
Second	28	24	86	4	14
Third	25	12	48	13	52
Total	58	40	69	18	31

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snook Households.

ever, when it is pointed out that more than two out of three of the tenants rent the farms they operate from relatives, and almost one-half of all tenants rent land from their parents. Thus a large proportion of the tenants are working land which they expect to inherit and are merely serving a probationary period leading to farm ownership. Among retired farmers, 19 out of 20 own farm land and, in the one exception, the farmer had owned land at one time but had divided it among his children upon his retirement. Of the 20 family heads who are engaged

¹⁰Edgar E. Young, *Czechoslovakia: Keystone of Peace and Democracy* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1938), p. 137.

in occupations other than farming, 2 out of 5 own some farm land. Thus the conclusion which may be drawn from the foregoing figures is that the trait of ownership is a definite part of Czech farming tradition today. The persistence of this trait is the ultimate outgrowth of group attitudes which the immigrant brought from his native land and instilled as well as perpetuated in his offspring.

Work Habits

The shortage of land in Europe affected the Czech very deeply, for it acted as a conditioning factor that called forth the utmost in planning, ingenuity, and long and hard hours of toil in order to secure a living. He came to America accustomed to hard work. In America, ownership of land did not come easy to the average Czech. Many had to borrow money to pay for their passage to their new homes. The debts accumulated in this manner had to be paid back in terms of hard labor. Then the newcomers had to rent land for a number of years before successfully climbing the agricultural ladder.¹¹ When most of the Snook Czechs finally did attain farm ownership they were so poor that they could not afford to hire labor. The tremendous task of building up the land and erecting the buildings was mostly done by themselves. This achievement was made possible only through the cooperation of family members who toiled in the fields for long hours of the day. Each family member was made to feel that a certain responsibility was his to share with others, and the Czechs have remained hard, cooperative, and active workers to the present day. Over 98 per cent of the farm family members who are physically able to work in the fields assist the family head. The Anglo-Americans in the surrounding areas feel that the Czech is cruel to his wife and children and that he subjects them to long hours of outdoor work. They fail to understand in most cases that this is merely a part of the Czech tradition and that the women and children alike expect to work and perform any tasks which they believe will help the family accomplish certain goals.

The practice of operating in close harmony as an economic unit and working all day long in the fields side by side creates family ties that are very strong. The husband, wife, and children all depend upon each other and the youngsters learn to share responsibilities even before they are of school age. The family members are truly family members and not merely unattached individuals. They feel that they belong pre-eminently to their family group and assume that the land, money, and other material goods are family property, involving the obligation to support individual members and to give assistance when they are in need.

¹¹An average of 11 years was required by the first generation farmers to change their status from renters to that of owners.

This is a carry-over from the Old World where the *grosse* or patriarchal family is still in existence. Here, one still finds an expression of family solidarity without conscious consideration of individual self-interest or demand for remuneration. Through their family unity, family values are preserved, and the parent, because of his dominant position, can pass on his philosophy of life and precisely those attitudes and behavior traits that seem most important to him.

Migrational Stability

Since land was at such a premium in the Old Country as much abundance as possible had to be produced from it not only for the current year, but for the future years and succeeding generations. No new land was available if the old land became "worn out." Such being the case the people seldom migrated from one farm to another. This tendency towards stability has been retained in the new location, for there is relatively little movement from one farm to another in the Snook community. (See table 2) The average length of occupancy for heads of all farm families is over 18 years. The turnover among farm owners, especially, is not rapid for, on the average, they have been living on the present farm for over 22 years.

The relatively high degree of stability among the Czechs can be explained in part by their European heritage and in part by the way the farmers have been taught to regard their land. To them the farm is not a speculative enterprise, but is valued as an asset to be held, to be cared for, and built up in productivity and value as a long-run investment.

The Feeling of the Czech Towards His Land

One can say that traditionally the Snook Czech identifies himself with the soil and considers farming by tradition his rightful occupation. He feels attached to the soil and to his Czech neighbors by ties rooted in human values that take priority over economic values. He has suffered a common oppression with his neighbors, and his experience with the soil has been such that he views it with an idealistic feeling. In fact, the Czech infrequently uses an endearing term when he speaks of land—"the good mother earth." He looks upon the land as his benefactress and feels that he must repay the land with care and labor.

Subsistence-type Farming Enterprises

In the country of their origin, the Czechs had been conditioned to a detailed, small-scale, painstaking form of agriculture carried on with a few simple tools. The cultural background of the Czech farmer en-

TABLE II
HEADS OF FARM FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE ON PRESENT FARM AND
GENERATION, SNOOK COMMUNITY, 1948*

YEARS OF OCCUPANCY	FIRST GENERATION			SECOND GENERATION			THIRD GENERATION			TOTAL		
	OWNERS NUM- BER	PER- CENT	RENTERS NUM- BER	OWNERS NUM- BER	PER- CENT	RENTERS NUM- BER	OWNERS NUM- BER	PER- CENT	RENTERS NUM- BER	OWNERS NUM- BER	PER- CENT	RENTERS NUM- BER
Under 5	-	-	-	1	4	-	1	8	5	2	5	5
5 to 9	-	-	-	2	8	2	5	42	6	7	17	8
10 to 14	-	-	-	4	17	-	1	8	1	5	13	1
15 to 19	-	-	100	4	17	-	1	8	1	5	13	2
20 to 29	-	-	-	5	21	1	4	34	-	9	23	1
30 to 39	1	25	-	5	21	1	-	-	-	6	15	1
40 to 49	3	75	-	2	8	-	-	-	-	5	12	-
50 and over	-	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	-
Total	4	100	1	24	100	4	12	100	13	40	100	18
												100

*Source: Questionnaire Data from 98 Snook Households.

courages farming practices that make for a fairly uniform size of operation and a classless community. Although both culturally and agriculturally these people have been at least partly absorbed by dominant groups, they still adhere to a live-at-home type of farming and are self-sufficient in their farming operations. Almost one-half of the farms in the community are less than 100 acres in size. Actual acreages devoted to some of the minor crops are not available, but almost every farmer has a garden, a few fruit trees, a hay meadow, and some of the land planted in small grains, potatoes, watermelons, and garden truck.

Since the average farm is not large, it is worked intensively, and the soil is kept in excellent condition. To a certain extent, ones' social status is partially determined by the way he treats his soil. To get drunk in public or to be absent from church services, for example, is not frowned upon. The practice of permitting grass to grow in ones' field, however, is inexcusable in the eyes of the Czech, and his social status in the community is lowered considerably should he persist in this unforgivable practice.

The Role of Isolation and Cooperation

One of the compelling considerations that conditioned the farming enterprise was the question of subsistence in a rather isolated section. Since the Czech immigrants had little in common with the natives, they felt a definite need for being self-sufficient in the pursuit of their economic and social interests. Realizing the advantages to be had by working together for the attainment of common or similar objectives, the farmers adopted a spirit of mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

Much of the success of the Czech farmer may be attributed to a co-operative spirit and to cooperative ventures.¹⁹ Indeed, cooperation became so general that it forms an integral part of the Czechs' cultural pattern of today. One of the first cooperative efforts of Snook farmers was in the organization and operation of a cooperative general merchandise store which was accomplished within three years after the first Czech family moved to the Snook community. This activity preceded the construction of either a church or school, which are normally the first two publicly-owned enterprises of a new farming community.

The spirit of cooperation has been handed down to the present-day farmers practically intact. Such manifestations of cooperation as mutual benefit organizations, a Bible school operated on a non-denominational basis, and community-sponsored beef clubs are illustrative of the co-

¹⁹Cf. R. L. Skrabanek, "Forms of Cooperation and Mutual Aid in a Czech-American Rural Community," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* (XXX, 1949), pp. 183-187.

operation that exists among Snook farmers at the present time. Other forms of mutual aid and cooperation manifest themselves in such practices as the exchange of farm work, sharing farm machinery and other equipment, and growing crops for the benefit of the community. Thus one might conclude that different forms of cooperation and mutual aid exist in the Snook community at a time when these activities have all but disappeared from the average rural community of today, and that these manifestations of cooperation play a major role in contributing towards the overall success of Czech farmers.

Conclusion

In conclusion, one might say that traditionally the Czech identifies himself with the soil and considers farming his rightful occupation. He looks back over a number of traditions that cover a long period of years, during which time he has inherited a pride in the ownership of land and a pride in keeping the land he has in good condition. In short, farming with its cares, anxieties, and pleasures is so congenial to the Czech that it fills his life so completely as to practically exclude the idea that farming might be exchanged for another and more profitable employment. With this general attitude dominant in the culture of the Czech and with the many conditioning factors to reinforce his attitudes it is, then, sociologically demonstrable why he is successful in his self-chosen occupation.

The Measurement of County Income in Oklahoma*

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Income is rapidly becoming the accepted measure of the performance of the economy. Some of the measures used in earlier years were the general price level, the volume of bank credit, the level of industrial production, the volume of money, and the state of the nation's gold supply. In focusing attention on one or a group of these latter measures, the purpose was to select strategic factors which were presumed to reflect the activity of other segments of the economy. For example, many business cycle theorists maintained that the economy could be stabilized at desirable levels of activity if some price index could be stabilized. These indices are still important and useful for many problems; but, to a considerable extent, they are being merged, subordinated, and re-oriented in the direction of the income framework. Income measures the total activity of the economy rather than some strategic part of it. In attempting to measure income, economists are resuming the study of the subject matter with which Adam Smith was concerned in the latter part of the eighteenth century, namely, an inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations.

Compilation of income aggregates for the economy of an area involves the ambitious task of summarizing the end results of the efforts of the working population to produce goods and services. In our economy the production of goods and services involves the use of the so-called "factors of production," in the form of land, labor, capital, and the entrepreneur. For engaging in productive effort, these factors receive income in the form of rent, wages, interest and profits.¹ Income, therefore, is a summary of the amount of compensation paid to the factors of production for engaging in current economic activity.

We now have reasonably accurate data on the national income of the United States on an annual basis for the past two decades, and other estimates go back as far as 1799.² In 1947, the United States Department

*Paper read at the meeting of the Oklahoma Academy of Science, Chickasha, Oklahoma, December 1, 1950. I am indebted to Professor Francis R. Cella, Director of the Bureau of Business Research, whose interest in the subject ante-dates my own. His generous cooperation made the present project possible.

¹Broadly speaking, income estimators accept the various types of income in the form in which they appear in the modern economy and in doing so have departed widely from the generally accepted definitions of the neo-classical economists.

²See: Robert F. Martin, *National Income in the United States, 1799-1938*, New York National Industrial Conference Board Incorporated, 1939.

of Commerce published the most comprehensive statistical data on the American economy ever published for this or any other country.³ The United Nations now compiles estimates on income in some 39 nations and the coverage is expanding rapidly.⁴

In addition to the national totals, the United States Department of Commerce prepares annual estimates of the income of individuals on a state basis.⁵ The data are arranged to show per capita income for each state. Such information makes it possible to compare the performance of one part of the nation's economy with other parts, and to compare relative rates of growth in various regions of the nation.

For the solution of many problems, however, information is needed on income of smaller areas than the states. Information on the income of counties within a state is useful in the solution of a wide range of problems in the field of public policy and private business decisions. In the area of public policy such information might serve as a basis for state tax systems, for state aid to local government, particularly aid to schools, and aid for highway construction. For the business man county income estimates provide a basis for comparing and ranking local areas in terms of economic importance. They are useful for analyzing market potentials, for measuring the effectiveness of sales and advertising programs and for other business planning. Most business men will agree, I think, that it would be unwise to spend money on advertising campaigns to sell television sets costing \$500 per unit in an area where per capita income amounts to only \$350 per year.

In recent years a number of attempts have been made in various states to break down the Department of Commerce estimates of state income into county income data. The principal difficulty encountered in these studies is the lack of certain statistical series on a county basis. On the other hand, sufficient information is available to make possible useful estimates of county income. For example, in many instances it is not enough to know that per capita income in Tulsa county is greater than per capita income in some county in the southeastern part of Oklahoma. County income estimates make it possible to indicate the order of magnitude of the difference between the income of one county and that of another.

³U. S. Department of Commerce, *National Income Supplement to Survey of Current Business*, July 1947. Revisions and new annual data appear in each July issue of the *Survey of Current Business*.

⁴See: *National Income Statistics of Various Countries, 1938-1948*; New York Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1950.

⁵The data are published annually in the August issue of the *Survey of Current Business*.

Bureaus of Business Research in state-supported universities have played a large part in the efforts to break down state totals on a county basis. The Bureau of Business Research at the University of Oklahoma has recently completed estimates of county income for the calendar year, 1949.

The distribution of income throughout the United States shows a considerable degree of inequality from region to region. Per capita income in New York State, for example, runs about one-third above the national average. In the southeastern states, on the other hand, per capita income has been running about one-third below the national average. Although the difference between per capita incomes in the richer areas and the poorer areas of the nation has been reduced during the past two decades, a wide disparity still exists. Per capita income in Oklahoma ranks above most of the southeastern states, but below per capita income in most other states in the nation. During the calendar year 1949 Oklahoma's per capita income was below that in 36 other states.

Studies of the distribution of income within a particular state reveal similar disparities. For example, per capita income of the highest county of Oklahoma is some 5 times as great as the per capita income in the lowest county. In some counties in Oklahoma per capita income ranks well above the national average, and in a few counties approaches the per capita income in the highest income states. At the other end of the income scale, per capita income in some of the poorer counties of Oklahoma ranks well below the per capita income in Mississippi, the state having the lowest per capita income in the nation.

Per capita income figures do not, of course, tell the whole story and for many types of problems other data are needed, such as total income and income by industrial origin. Moreover, per capita figures on a county basis conceal the inequality in distribution of income within a county. Available data provide no basis for assuming that the distribution of income is less unevenly divided within a county than the average per capita income of counties within a state. Thus, while county data leave much to be desired, such information is a distinct improvement over data on a state basis.

The breakdown of state income data to a county base makes it possible to outline the pattern of income received in different parts of the state. Because certain statistical series are not available, the data on county income do not pretend to exactness. For many purposes, grouping of counties on some such basis as a decile arrangement might be more helpful. It is to be emphasized at this point that further study will doubtless lead to modification of the current estimates, but it is believed that such modifications are likely to be relatively minor and will not

affect appreciably the pattern of distribution within the state. The purpose in preparing county estimates, then, is not only to indicate the richer and poorer areas of the state but to indicate the approximate magnitude of these differences.

Method of estimating county income

The Income Division of the United States Department of Commerce prepares estimates of the income payments to individuals in each state on an annual basis. Income payments to individuals include payments in the form of wages and salaries, the income of proprietors of unincorporated enterprises, property income, and "other" income. The Department of Commerce, on request, will also provide breakdowns of wages and salaries into major categories as follows: Agriculture; mining; manufacturing; construction; transportation; power and gas; communications; trade; finance including insurance and real estate; service; and miscellaneous. Wages and salaries amount to about 55 to 60 percent of the total income of individuals in Oklahoma.

A breakdown of proprietor income similar to that on wages and salaries is also available from the U. S. Department of Commerce. The most important industrial source of proprietor income in Oklahoma is agriculture, followed by wholesale and retail trade, and service. Proprietor income amounts to about one-fourth the income of individuals in Oklahoma. Property income in Oklahoma accounts for slightly less than 10 percent of income of individuals in the state. The remainder is "other" income and refers principally to so called "transfer" payments. "Other" income includes such items as veteran payments of various kinds, allotments of pay to dependents of military personnel, old age assistance payments, payments under the old age and survivors insurance program, aid to dependent children, public and private pension plans, railroad retirement system benefits, and others. In all "other" income payments include some 21 categories of income.

In preparing county income estimates, the Department of Commerce state figures are accepted as benchmark data, and the problem is to find a satisfactory method of distributing each of the separate items among the 77 counties of the state, and summing the income for each county. The methods used in the Oklahoma study might be divided into two principal categories as follows:

- a. Direct allocators
- b. Indirect allocators

An example of direct allocation is old age assistance benefits. The State Department of Public Welfare provides monthly data on these dis-

bursements by county, and these sums can simply be entered under appropriate headings. An example of an indirect method is the allocation of property income. This item includes rent, interest, dividends and royalties received by individuals. There is no direct method of allocating this sum among the counties. Three indirect methods that might be used are: (a) income tax payments by individuals in each county, (b) the purchase of Series E bonds by individuals, or (c) holdings of savings deposits by individuals; or some combination of these and possibly other methods might be used. The method actually used was to compute a ratio of income taxes paid by individuals in the state of Oklahoma who reside in county X to the total for the state. Similar ratios were then computed for each of the other 76 counties. Total property income was then distributed on the basis of these ratios. The results of allocating property income by this method were then compared with results obtained by other procedures.

Principal sources of information

The main source of information on wages paid farm labor and on proprietor income in agriculture in Oklahoma was the *Census of Agriculture* of 1945, which also includes comparative data for earlier Census years. The Census shows information on total wages paid farm labor by county during the calendar year, 1944. The ratio of farm wages in each county to the state total was computed for the calendar year 1944, and the Commerce estimate of 1949 farm wages in Oklahoma was allocated on the basis of these ratios.⁶

Other important sources of information on wages and salaries are the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Bureau of the Social Security Administration and the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission. The Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance, in cooperation with the United States Department of Commerce, publishes annually beginning in 1946 a series of bulletins which present statistics on the number of business establishments covered by the Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program in the first quarter of each year. The bulletins also show the number of employees and the amount of taxable wages paid. The figures are further broken down to show data by county and by major industry.⁷

⁶When the 1950 *Census of Agriculture* becomes available, it will be possible to compute new ratios for each county and revise the basis for allocating farm wages in future years. A comparison of ratios in 1940 and 1945 Census data, however, indicates considerable stability among the various counties, although an individual county may show a substantial percentage change.

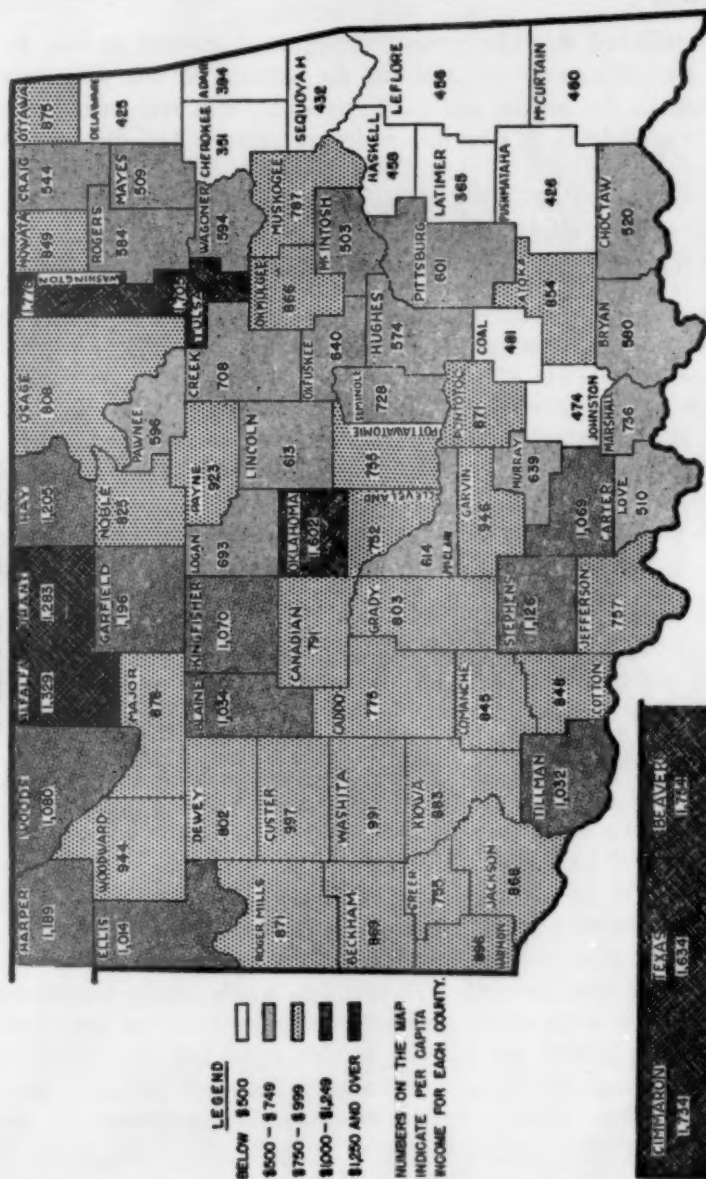
⁷U. S. Department of Commerce, *County Business Patterns*, First Quarter, 1948, Business Establishments, Employment, and Taxable Payrolls, by Industry Groups, Under Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program, Part II, State Reports, No. 34, Oklahoma.

Publications of the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission provide data on total wages and salaries for employees covered by that program for each county in the state. In addition, the data are sub-divided and presented for each major industry in about half of the larger counties of the state. Fortunately for many of the important industries of the state, this detailed information covers a very high percentage of total wages paid.⁸

In all, about 40 separate items were computed for each county and these items were summed to arrive at a county total. Several times that many items were computed for each county as a basis of checking the validity of the procedure. In evaluating the general reliability of the data it is important to keep in mind the size of the particular items relative to total income in the state of Oklahoma. In 1949, for example, each \$23,000,000 of income was equal to about one percent of the state's income. Although a single method had to be selected for allocating each item, it is to be remembered that in most cases it was possible to check this method against alternatives. In many cases the alternatives were based on data collected independently. For example, manufacturing wages in Oklahoma are an important part of total wages paid in the state. As a method of checking the reasonableness of the method selected, we had available information from the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program, data collected independently by the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, and the Census of Manufactures for 1947. Fortunately, the most comprehensive data are available for those

⁸Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, *The Oklahoma Labor Market*, May 1950, County Employment Data Supplement, covered employment and wages, January-June 1949, and *Ibid.*, July 1950, July-December 1949. Other sources of information were as follows: *The Census of Manufacturing* for 1947, 1939 and earlier; the Census figures show total wages paid to production workers in each county during the census year and also total wages and salaries paid in manufacturing for each county. The *Census of Business* for 1948 shows detail by county on wholesale, retail trade, and service. The Department of Public Welfare in Oklahoma provides detailed information on each of their major programs for each county in the state. Regional offices of the Veteran's Administration in Oklahoma City and Muskogee were able to provide a considerable amount of information on payments under the various veterans' programs. The Bureau of Business Research collects and analyzes a wide variety of data on construction, trade, population, and other aspects of the state's economy. This information was used as a basis for comparing the reasonableness of the methods used to allocate some of the items. The State Budget Bureau was able to provide information on wages and salaries paid by the state government, and information on salaries of schoolteachers. Some of the state offices of federal departments and bureaus were able to provide information on federal payrolls in Oklahoma. Publications of the State Tax Commission contain detailed information on income and sales taxes by counties. Publications of the Federal Reserve System on demand deposits and savings deposits by counties were also used. The State Savings Bond Committee was able to provide data on savings bond sales by county. There were a large number of miscellaneous sources of information which were used either as a basis for allocation or as a method of checking on the results of a particular method.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN OKLAHOMA, BY COUNTY,
CALENDAR YEAR 1949



SOURCE: BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA.

items which bulk large in total income for the people in the state. This is not unexpected, since it appears reasonable that as a particular item becomes relatively large, some agency, private or public, will collect data on it.

It is believed that the present estimates of county income in Oklahoma are sufficiently accurate for the solution of the wide variety of problems in the private and public sphere. It is recognized of course, that the availability of new data in future years will modify and improve the county estimates. Perhaps the principal danger in using the data lies in the area of minute comparisons of such items as per capita income in one county with per capita income in another county especially where both counties might better be grouped into a single category.

The map on the accompanying page shows per capita income for each county in the State during the calendar year, 1949.

Louisiana Land Survey Systems

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Introduction

In most parts of the middle and western United States there is only a slight variation in the shape or form of the individual property holdings, for, in the main, the land was surveyed according to the system adopted by Congress May 20, 1875;¹ consequently the holdings are either square sections or rectangular parts thereof.

In other parts of the country the General Land Office system is accompanied by others which were introduced by early colonists. The systems instituted by the settlers varied from one section to another. This variation may be attributed to the fact that some colonists employed a system used in their mother country, while others divided the land in a manner which might be termed a field expedient. That is, no over-all plan was made for the distribution of land, but each grant or sale was an individual case and treated as such.

Those survey systems which were simply transplanted from the mother country might be called a product of cultural heritage and are well typified by that established in all places settled by the French. Systems with no definite or permanent basis such as that used in Kentucky had no plan or historical precedent and resulted in tracts with little restriction as to size or shape.

A casual look at an aerial photograph or a drive along a country road well illustrates the fact that the manner of dividing land into individual holdings is a significant factor determining the character of the cultural landscape. Whether the land is settled, unsettled, cultivated, grazed, or in timber, there are distinctive items in the observable scene which reveal the importance of the shape and size of individual land portions. In cultivated areas the most prominent features which show the separation of one individual's land from that of another are fences, property-line roads and paths, and crop differences. Heavily grazed areas as opposed to those less heavily grazed, along with fences, roads, and other items help to distinguish landholdings in areas devoted to cattle raising, while the presence or absence of underbrush, thinning of new growth, and

¹The rectangular system of survey as reported from a committee of Congress May 7, 1784 required the public lands to be divided into "hundreds" of ten geographical miles square, and these again subdivided into lots of one mile square each. This was amended and townships reduced to six miles square May 20, 1785.

controlled cutting, accomplish this result in timbered areas. These examples of the many ways in which the system of land survey manifests itself in the landscape suggest the wide variation which exists in the landscape of areas using different survey systems. The resulting variation not only invites but demands the attention of the cultural geographer.

The area which comprises the present state of Louisiana has felt the cultural influence of four national groups, and each has left an imprint on the landscape in the form of a land-survey system. Therefore, the pattern of landholdings is unsurpassed in value as an aid to a real analysis through the understanding of Louisiana's tremendously varied cultural heritage, and the extent to which this heritage has molded the present cultural landscape.

French Settlement

The first European claim to the area known as Louisiana was that of France based on the discovery of LaSalle. He sailed down the Mississippi River and at its mouth on April 6, 1682 claimed for France all the territory drained by the Mississippi system. The basis was laid for additional French claims in North America when LaSalle, in the name of Louis XIV, took possession of the territory lying south of the thirty-first parallel and east from the Mississippi River to the River Palms in the present state of Florida. In this latter section France made its first settlement some seventeen years later. In 1699 the French established a base near the present city of Biloxi, Mississippi, and from there they moved along the coast and up the Mississippi River exploring and settling the vast territory claimed by LaSalle.

Shortly after the turn of the century France began a rather vigorous campaign to attract settlers to the new territory. Colonists organized in a militia were needed to act as a buffer against Spanish encroachment from Texas, and to secure control of the Mississippi River. Of the many inducements which France offered settlers, the most successful was the practice of granting to each new immigrant land for home site and fields.

The early settlers were in almost every instance granted lands lying adjacent to rivers and streams. Although lands so located were desirable because of their accessibility to water transportation and their better drainage, such seemingly rational explanations do not adequately account for the most unusual survey system employed in dividing the land into individual holdings.

The arpent, which is equivalent to 192 American feet or nearly a linear acre, was the unit of land measurement used by the French in Louisiana. Each grantee received a tract of land bordering on the stream and running

into the interior. The side along the stream was known as the front, and varied from as little as one arpent to as much as several hundred in the very early grants. The side which extended inland from the stream was known as the depth, and customarily measured forty arpents, or nearly 8,000 feet.

Many early settlers in Louisiana were granted enormous tracts of land with fifty or one hundred arpents frontage, much of which remained unimproved. Some who were granted large tracts cut and sold the timber and left the land unproductive, while others accepted grants only to sell the land to other settlers at a profit. In 1716 King Louis XV, seeking to correct these evils, issued a royal decree which ordered that all land which had not been cleared or otherwise improved would revert to the crown and be re-granted to other settlers in tracts having two to four arpents frontage.³

A map of unknown authorship of the lower Mississippi drawn in 1723 shows ninety-one landholdings along the banks of the river; of these holdings only eighteen exceed forty arpents in depth, and only four are of a shape other than a long narrow strip, and these four are variations of that type.

How this system of survey originated is somewhat problematical, for the mode of land division established by the French in Louisiana is not unique to that state. Many early French settlers in Canada were granted holdings along the St. Lawrence River which measured 766 feet in front and 7,660 feet in depth.⁴ This is only a few feet short of forty arpents depth by four arpents frontage. This elongated type of landholding is found in almost all other early French settlements; and though great changes have occurred in the areas, many of the old property lines are in evidence today.⁴

In Louisiana as in other areas settled by the French there are instances in which several tracts have been joined together under one ownership, but in almost every case the old land lines and fence rows have been maintained and are visible in the modern landscape. In contrast to the grouping of several tracts under one ownership, the custom of equal inheritance rights of all sons has brought about repeated division of property into increasingly smaller holdings. The manner of dividing land in the case of a multiple inheritance is such that each recipient has an equal share of the frontage and a full depth. In many instances the holdings are hardly wide

³Dart, Henry P., *The First Law Regulating Land Grants in French Colonial Louisiana*, *La. Hist. Quart.*, vol. 14, p. 346, 1934.

⁴Semple, Ellen C., *The Influence of the Geographic Environment on the Lower St. Lawrence*, *Bull. Am. Geog. Soc.*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 449-466, 1904.

⁴Trewartha, Glenn T., *The Prairie du Chien Terrace: Geography of a Confluence Site*, *Annals, A. A. G.*, vol. 22, p. 156.

enough to accommodate a dwelling, and it is not unusual to find a deed which reads "one arpent less twenty-five feet front." To prevent the continued partitioning of fields until they were practically useless, an ordinance was passed in 1745 prohibiting the building of houses or stables on land holdings "less than an arpent and a half in front by thirty or forty arpents in depth."⁸ This ordinance was difficult to enforce and until World War I the process of division from father to sons continued with few exceptions. However, since that time the splitting-up of land through multiple inheritance has been less common.

Spanish Settlement

The Spanish upon assuming control of Louisiana continued the old French system of land survey.⁹ Each grantee received land fronting on a stream and extending back into the interior a depth of forty arpents. For each adult in the family or each adult slave the settler received an additional amount of land up to a maximum of eight hundred arpents.¹⁰ In general the Spanish policy was to grant an individual the amount of land that could be cultivated, but along the Mississippi River the grants were restricted to six or eight arpents frontage by the usual forty in depth.¹¹ This was not in keeping with Spanish policy in other parts of the New World for usually their settlements were made around a planned-town nucleus, and lands around the town were granted in large square tracts oriented toward the cardinal directions.¹² Other grants were large irregular tracts defined by giving the compass direction and length of the different sides or the familiar metes and bounds system. A few grants one league square are to be found in almost all parts of the state, yet grants of the metes and bounds or irregular type are almost entirely restricted to the area known as the Florida Parishes.¹³

Land Grants and Settlement in the Florida Parishes

The area within the present state of Louisiana which lies between the thirty-first parallel on the north and a line formed by Bayou Manchac, Amite River, Lake Maurepas, and Lake Pontchartrain on the south, the Mississippi River on the west and Pearl River on the east is known as the Florida Parishes, since this area was a portion of Spanish West Florida.

⁸Brown, Ralph H., *Historical Geography of the United States*, Harcourt, Brace and Co., N. Y., p. 48, 1948.

⁹White, Joseph M., *A New Collection of Laws, Charters, and Local Ordinances of the Governments of Great Britain, France, and Spain*, T. and J. W. Johnson, Lawbooksellers, Philadelphia, p. 228, 1839.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 231.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 234.

¹²*Am. State Papers, Public Lands*, vol. V, p. 631.

¹³One league is equivalent to three English miles.

Settlement in the Florida Parishes was begun by the French who moved up the Pearl, Amite, and Tangipahoa Rivers surveying and laying-out their traditional river-front type of landholding. Here as in other parts of Louisiana the French did not move inland from the streams any considerable distance but adhered to their practice of forming a series of sinuous settlements along the banks of rivers and bayous. The actual amount and areas of French grants cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy because in approving land claims the United States Land Commission made no distinction between French and Spanish grants. The records are further confused by the fact that two other nations controlled the area prior to the United States.

Spain acquired West Florida from France under the treaty of November 3, 1762, but accomplished little in the way of settlement before she in turn transferred the territory to Great Britain on February 10, 1763.

A large number of grants were made in this area by the British especially to members of her military forces in North America. The grants ranged from fifty acres for privates to five thousand acres for field officers. Other grants under royal mandamus of the king ranged as high as one hundred thousand acres.¹¹ There was a standing regulation to the effect that the width of all lands granted and surveyed by the British would be one third the length. Also it was specified that the length could not lie along a stream but must run into the interior. The extent to which this regulation was followed seems to have been very slight for only a few holdings of British origin are surveyed in this manner.

Landholdings in other parts of the state bear no resemblance to those in portions of the Florida Parishes for here the very irregular metes and bounds system of division was used. In making the surveys no regular or predetermined plan was followed; each tract was surveyed to include all improvements without including land which belonged to another or more land than was called for in the grant.¹² The cultural landscape resulting from this mode of property division is strikingly different from that found in both the areas surveyed by the French and the areas surveyed by the United States. The spacing of fences, location of farmsteads in relation to each other, and irregular road pattern all call attention to the system of land survey used in this area.

After the close of the American Revolution all British territory south of the thirty-first parallel was ceded to Spain. Immediate activity was begun by Spain to complete settlement of the Florida Parishes which were included in this transfer. In this area as in other parts of Louisiana Spain

¹¹Johnson, Cecil, *The Distribution of Land in British West Florida*, *La. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. 16, pp. 539-553, Oct., 1933.

¹²*Am. State Papers, Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 747.

adopted the system of land survey that had been used by her predecessor.¹² The Spanish governors issued orders that in surveying land into tracts or individual holdings the width or front would be one third the length or depth, but as in the case of the British the regulation was not followed, and the resulting landholdings contributed to and amplified the irregular pattern begun by the British.¹⁴

United States Settlement and Survey

When the United States obtained Louisiana from France by purchase in 1803 there were two systems of land survey in use there. A third dictated by the laws of the United States called for the survey of public lands into townships six miles square which were divided into sections one mile square.

Surveying in this manner would have necessitated the division of tremendous areas of unsalable swamp into townships and sections and would have further delayed the sale of the better-drained and more desirable lands. The Secretary of the Treasury suggested that the streams be meandered and the land surveyed into tracts of one hundred sixty acres each, having as much front in proportion to their depth as was customary in Louisiana.¹⁵ Correspondence on this subject was communicated to the House of Representatives in 1803 but it was three years before any action was taken. Departure from the regular mode of survey was authorized by act of Congress, March 3, 1811. Section two of this act gave the deputy surveyors in Louisiana authority to survey lands adjacent to rivers, lakes, bayous, or other water bodies into tracts fifty-eight poles in front by four hundred sixty-five poles in depth. This is three feet short of five arpents frontage and eight feet less than forty arpents in depth.

The exact areas which were surveyed under this act have not been determined, but 1,570 such tracts were surveyed between the Atchafalaya River and Bayou La Fourche in the years of 1816 and 1817. Although the act has never been repealed, no original surveys of this type have been made in almost a century.¹⁶

Section five of the March 3, 1811 act authorized the holders of tracts fronting on a stream to enter the adjoining lands in the rear. These back concessions were to be forty arpents in length and the same width as the front holding.¹⁷ In most instances a back concession was surveyed and the narrow strip pattern begun by the French was extended back eighty

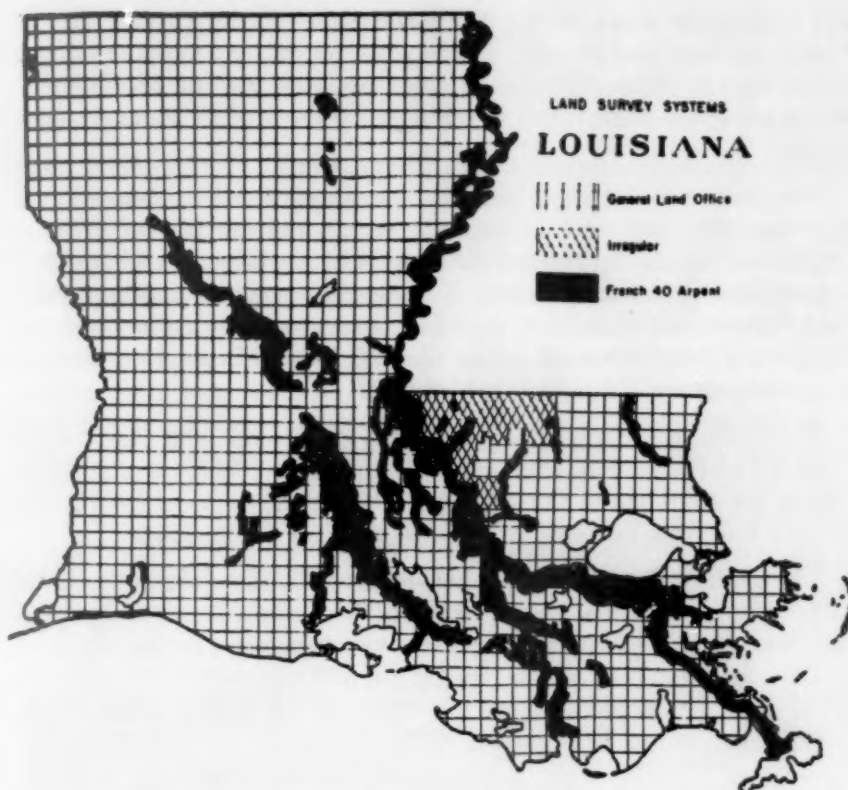
¹²*Ibid*, p. 636.

¹⁴White, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

¹⁵*Am. State Papers, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 587.

¹⁶*Ibid*, Vol. 5, p. 439.

¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 440.



arpents from the stream, but the forty arpent line is still clearly marked and in many places is the site of what is termed "the forty-arpent road."

Conclusion

The use of different land survey systems in Louisiana has resulted in landholding patterns which are as diverse as were the cultural backgrounds from which they came. The square townships and sections of the General Land Office system, exemplified by that used in Jackson Parish, are reflected in the marked regularity of forms in the cultural landscape. The network of section-line roads, relatively uniform spacing of farmsteads, and generally square fields suggest the type of survey system used.

the General Land Office system are those encountered in East Feliciana Parish. The irregular survey system begun there by the British and perpetuated by the Spanish has resulted in a landholding pattern which is distinctly unlike that in areas of General Land Office survey. The size and shape of individual landholdings are broken and unpredictable there.

The character of the cultural landscape in areas such as Point Coupee Parish reflects the different systems used. The closely spaced farmsteads

and rectangular shape of the fields along the Mississippi suggests the French mode of land division, yet the slight irregularity in shape and size of holdings in this area is distinct from the more uniform holdings surveyed along the Atchafalaya in the west by the United States Government.

The distribution of these different systems of survey is shown in the accompanying map of Louisiana. It reveals the distribution of early French and Spanish settlements along rivers by the presence of long forty arpent holdings there. The areas lying between major streams and therefore between the areas of French forty-arpent survey in the south are backswamp areas surveyed in the General Land Office system and for the most part are very thinly settled.

Due to the fact that many of the British and Spanish land claims in the Florida Parishes were rejected by the United States, the areas of irregular survey are restricted to the western portion of that area in the Parishes of East and West Feliciana, St. Helena, and East Baton Rouge.

The different land survey systems reflected by the cultural landscape in Louisiana are material manifestations of the varied cultural background, and help distinguish cultural regions of the state.

Book Reviews

Edited by H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

KARL R. POPPER: *The Open Society and Its Enemies*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, Pp., 732, \$7.50.)

This interesting volume is a reprint of the first edition in two volumes which appeared in England. It is in all essential respects unchanged; only minor additions such as the recognition that Bowra and Fite had taken a line similar to his on Plato are made. "I am now glad," the author tells us, "that in revising the book, I confined myself to the addition of new material and to the correction of mistakes of matter and style, and that I resisted the temptation to subdue its tenor," a tenor admittedly of the thirties when harsh criticism seemed to the author in order. This criticism strikes him today "as more emotional and harder in tone than I could wish." This reviewer welcomes the author's determination to stick to his guns; for these guns needed leveling then and they do so now. In saying this, we do not wish to be misunderstood as subscribing to all the author's diatribes—some of them of the tone of Schopenhauer's footnotes on Fichte and Hegel. Popper also has an annoying habit of name-calling authors he does not like or does not know, such as his calling Dilthey an "Hegelian" when Dilthey was one of the sharpest critics of all philosophies of history.

Popper's basic approach has all the strength and all the weakness of the either-or type of approach. For the open society is opposed the closed society, and you are presumably either for one or for the other. This leaves out, of course, most of the more valuable political thought and philosophy of the ages, since all more empirically oriented thinkers concerned with government and politics have always known that society is neither "closed" nor "open." Popper, by selecting for primary emphasis the four outstanding secular representatives of a closed society, to wit Plato, Aristotle, Hegel and Marx, and leveling the guns of his devastating, positivistic, logical analysis at their writings, succeeds admirably in the negative task of showing up their weaknesses. His book is thus an admirable antidote for all those who surround these hallowed highpriests with the uncritical mists of ideological incense. But there is more to Plato and Hegel, to Aristotle and Marx than that. Now to be sure, Popper has appreciative remarks to make, especially regarding Marx' challenge to bourgeois capitalism, but these "concessions" do not penetrate to the heart of the problem. Social crises of enormous scope were confronting the generations for which these men wrote. They were crises which they sought to master, by the power of human

thought, and they failed. We do not gain perspective by dwelling on their failure alone. In his new introduction, Popper tells us that largely as a result of his visit to the United States, he feels as hopeful as ever he did. The "longing of uncounted unknown men to free themselves and their minds from the tutelage of authority and prejudice," "their attempt to build up an open society which rejects the absolute authority of the merely established and the merely traditional while trying to preserve, to develop, and to establish traditions that measure up to its standards of freedom, of humaneness, and of rational criticism," these seem to Popper the core of "perhaps the greatest of all moral and spiritual revolutions of history." Deeply as one sympathizes with the "longings" and the "attempts" of the modern West, one may yet wonder how penetrating is an analysis which would thus minimize the problems which beset us in the form of wars, revolutions, mass murders and mass violence, dissolution of ethical standards and cultural aspirations. As contrasted with the extremes of "openness" and "closedness", of license and oppression, is not the deeper search that for balance and moderation, for a thoughtful blending of freedom and order, for a recognition of the limits of finite minds and of not wholly rational wills? Is not the constitutional legality to be preferred to the authoritarian closedness of unrestrained autocracy?

Harvard University

C. J. Friedrich

A. G. MEZERICK: *The Pursuit of Plenty*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 209, \$2.50.)

Under the cloak of conservation, Neo-Malthusianism has again been popularized in writings such as William Vogt's *Road to Survival*. It is true that much of the Malthusian "principles of population" have been refuted time and time again, but each time the terrified neo-malthusian comes back proclaiming the impending doom for mankind. Under the mantle of a conservationist, the Neo-Malthusian points to how man has abused the natural resources of the world to such an extent that nature's resources can not sustain a large population. They conclude that man's only recourse is to drastically curb population growth.

In the *Pursuit of Plenty*, A. G. Mezerick brings out that he is cognizant of the rapid deterioration of the natural resources of the world; however, believes man should not face the future in fear. Rather man, himself, should be considered nature's greatest resource. With this in view, man can utilize, and at the same time conserve, other natural resources bringing about "the highest possible level of physical, mental, and social well being for all."

Throughout the book, Mezerik points to the T.V.A. as an example of how man through science and technology can implement nature and make the earth more productive than ever before. The T.V.A. demonstrates an effective form of conservation which has resulted in increased agricultural production, the production of electric power, the subsequent industrialization of the region with resulting higher levels of living. He deplored the efforts of public utility companies, oil magnates, the corps of Army Engineers, steel producers, and the American customs and taboos which prevent the creation of a Missouri Valley Authority. These vested interests are opposed to the extension of the T.V.A. plan to other areas. They have no regard for the public welfare or the preservation of natural resources. To him it is through the creation of regional projects like the T.V.A. in the Missouri Valley and other areas of the world that will keep the specter of Neo-Malthusianism and over population from confronting mankind. Mezerik believes that sound planning and action can raise the level of living throughout the world.

This unusual stimulating volume, written by a journalist, is refreshing, and well worth reading to one interested in problems of population, conservation, or social action.

Oklahoma A&M College

John C. Belcher

MARGARET WILLIAMSON: *Supervision, Principles and Methods*. (New York: Woman's Press, 1950, Pp., 170, \$3.00.)

This book on supervision is distinguished by its clarity, simplicity and readable prose unencumbered by professional jargon as well as by the author's interest in the contribution of those staff members, students and volunteers who are learning to be helpful to persons coming to social agencies. The agency with its administrative procedures, the supervisor and the supervised are all present and are introduced to one another as people in this small book of 170 pages.

The table of contents and material in the chapters suggest the range of topics: (1) the purposes and objectives of supervision; (2) the functions of supervision (administrative, educational or teaching and secondary leadership); (3) recruiting volunteer workers; (4) the initial or orientation interview with a new staff member; (5) the opportunities available to the supervisor for observing the person he is supervising; (6) the supervisory conference; (7) the use of records; (8) the use of group methods in supervision; (9) the evaluation of workers; (10) the supervisor as a learner.

Although each chapter is well knit the book itself suffers from a breadth of view which precludes any detailed examination of the com-

plexity of the topics the author presents. From the author's preface as well as from certain included material it is clear that the book is designed primarily for social group workers. Social case workers who are conversant with the material on supervision developed by case workers, who were the originators of this method of teaching, will find little that is new to them in Margaret Williamson's volume except the author's different, and often better, way of saying it. This is no small achievement.

This book can be useful as *introductory material to some aspects of the topics* presented in each chapter. As such it can be used in seminars on supervision offered by schools of social work; in agency inservice training programs with workers and supervisors, with little if any professional education in social work, the book can be used as an excellent introduction on how to teach rather than on what to teach; and for professionally qualified supervisors the book can serve as a timely reminder of what must be constantly remembered and striven for in all good teaching.

The author's bibliography appears in the "suggested reading" which follows at the end of each chapter. There is no index. My colleague, Mr. Kindelsperger, has written a foreword to the book which stresses, what Miss Williamson's text elaborates as "the basic factor in supervision: interpersonal relationships."

Tulane University

Florence Sytz

HERBERT EMMERICH: *Essays on Federal Reorganization*. (University, Alabama: 1950, Pp., 149, \$2.50.)

This is another in the series of small volumes of essays on public administration published by the University of Alabama Press, essays which have been first prepared as lectures for delivery as a part of the Southern Regional Training Program. The series is distinguished; it would be hard to find in the literature of public administration so much high quality material in so small a compass. This volume is a worthy companion of its predecessors.

In his essays Mr. Emmerich discusses the rationale of Federal reorganization, its methods and obstacles; and he reviews the history of reorganization, with particular attention to the Committee on Administrative Management and the Hoover Commission; and concludes with an inventory of "Unfinished Business" in Federal reorganization.

A statement made in the conclusion so well summarizes the intent and spirit of the essays it deserves quotation: "This series of papers has been heavily weighted with the doctrine of executive responsibility. The

argument has been in favor of giving the Chief Executive the authority and the equipment necessary to carry out his duties. To the extent possible in a governmental milieu it has been urged that his powers approximate those of a business executive." Mr. Emmerich develops a persuasive case for his views, which are based on both long study and extensive experience.

Perhaps it is irrelevant—admittedly it is not in itself significant—that the reviewer disagrees with much of what Mr. Emmerich has to say; but I so record. While I feel that some manifest good has come out of the doctrines of the President's Committee on Administrative Management, I believe also that great potential evil lies in further dogmatic extension of some of these doctrines. Unfortunately, prestige, position and foibles of human nature have combined to make the doctrines of the President's Committee professionally sacrosanct. But the Presidency of the United States is *not* a "business executiveship" and we pursue this delusion at great national peril.

University of California

Dwight Waldo

HOWARD BECKER: *Through Values to Social Interpretation*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1950, Pp., 341, \$5.00.)

Through Values to Social Interpretation is a compilation of six of Howard Becker's more recent essays related to the general problem of clarifying the role of values and value systems in human conduct.

In examining the valuational aspects of human experience Professor Becker is led to a consideration of the nature and development of social phenomena in general. Here he is critical of the recent heavy emphasis which has been placed upon the quantification of social data. A reverence for facts regardless of how carefully they are developed is not productive unless developed in accordance with sound methodological principles and given some sort of theoretical orientation.

More than this Professor Becker makes the eminently practical argument that the data of social action must be organized in some kind of unified fashion which will make them representative not only of past and present situations but of future activity also. This aim which boils down to prediction and control is, of course, the ultimate goal of all science. He attacks mass assembling of data which is aimed at "letting the facts speak for themselves," pointing out that such unrestrained pursuit of the particular can only result in statement of the unique. This policy is largely futile since it severely limits the possibility of the generalization with its predictive value. What is needed is to represent social situations in some sort of a conceptual scheme which will sym-

bologically portray empirical data. The device campaigned for is the "social construct," a Beckerization of Max Weber's earlier "ideal type." Here it is understood that while the details of any two situations, if pursued far enough, may never be identical, a general pattern or type can be of predictive value in similar individual circumstances.

Professor Becker's principal notions and line of argument are not new but the book is significant because of its careful formulation and exposition of these ideas. It is regrettable that the book is careful and scholarly to the point of sometimes becoming repetitious and unnecessarily pedantic. These shortcomings are perhaps inevitable, however, in an exposition in which chapter-essays were prepared at different times and originally designed to stand alone.

University of Oklahoma

Don L. Bowen

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO: *The World in Crisis*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp., 429, \$5.00.)

The aim of the book is to survey the political, social, and economic movements that arose during the first half of the twentieth century. Into the analyses of these movements is woven background historical material, explaining how they came into being, how they have operated, what problems they have created, and what has been done to solve these problems. Events are woven meaningfully into this pattern, rather than told as narrative history. Schapiro, furthermore, tries to explain how and why democracy ceased to be purely political and sought to apply its egalitarian principles to the social and economic order; how and why nationalism, by upholding the sovereign political state, was out of harmony with the international economic order; how and why colonial imperialism was doomed with the rise of political consciousness in the Orient; and how and why the economic system, based on laissez-faire capitalism, could not meet the rising demand for security. Then there are chapters on the various forms of totalitarianism which show they have pushed the world on the war paths. The two concluding chapters deal with the rise of the United States as the greatest power in the world and as the leading champion of democracy against totalitarian dictatorship, and the efforts of the League of Nations and the United Nations to promote world peace.

Although Schapiro offers no new thesis, his book is surely absorbing reading. He has the knack of being informative without being stuffy. Especially commendable is his ability to present history in terms of sweeping historical movements. Although there are, indeed, very few footnote references throughout the text, the general bibliography proves that the book is based on careful documentary study and a considerable

amount of research. All in all, this is an honest and absorbing book whose qualities are sure to appeal to those who want to get a good overview of modern history in terms of the underlying forces which have brought us to the terrible dilemma that we are facing today.

University of Bridgeport

Joseph S. Roucek

DONALD R. TAFT: *Criminology: A Cultural Interpretation*. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950, Pp., 704, \$5.50.)

The attempt to replace the old fashioned working instrument of "causes" by some indistinct combination of potentialities, broad in range and loose in shape, is doomed to failure when it comes to the practical job of teaching and learning. Medicine has not progressed by dipping into the depths of the subconscious. It operates most successfully by looking for causes and removing causes. Taft has justly withstood the temptation of being modern, but abstruse. This overall revision of his volume has given us a well-written, well-documented, lucid and most useful book.

Some subjects, of course, have not attracted Taft's interest as others. He is succinct on the all-important issues of age and sex. But he has devoted an excellent chapter on race and crime, presenting the reader with some new interpretations on the high rate of violence among Negroes for instance—which deserve to be pondered and accepted. The discussion of immigration and crime rests on vast knowledge and good insight. In a new edition the author will certainly note that the former male surplus of immigrants has been reversed after the second world war, maybe by the invasion of war brides. These young woman have added a new problem to the realm of social conflicts.

The racketeer and the sex delinquent are other most readable sections of the book. The prison community is discussed on the basis of Clemmer's findings and subsequent studies. There is a brief chapter on war and crime. The caricature of the defeated enemy will probably not be approved by the author himself anymore since it does not belong in a scientific discussion. In the whole Taft's criminology ranks high in our field. It is a clear, sober and substantial book. The students will like it.

University of Kansas City

Hans von Hentig

ROBERT A. BRADY: *Crisis in Britain*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950, Pp., 730, \$5.00.)

Professor Brady has aptly described the contents of this impressive book in his subtitle, "Plans and Achievements of the Labour Govern-

ment." He could as easily have called it "The Background, Legislative History, and Operations of the British Nationalization Program." That is its major subject matter.

The author spent some eight months in Great Britain both studying and asking questions of people who were actually putting the programs into operation. On these operations, however, his narrative ends mainly in July 1949. Because of this time factor he deals principally with the establishing of the nationalization program. He spends much less time in describing the results of the program. He has, however, speculated considerably about the possible future of the nationalizations—and sometimes his speculations are alarming. Particularly is this true of his conclusion—that if the government does not see the need for a "revolutionary replanning of all the factors bearing on the problems of improving British productive methods" and a "drastic reorientation of both colonial and foreign policy, . . . Britain needs only a Gibbon to write her chronicle."

The author works toward this gloomy conclusion by an acute analysis of the Labour government's achievements. He does this through chapters about the nationalization of the Bank of England, of coal, gas, electricity, iron and steel, transport, and telecommunications. He also discusses the social security program, the agricultural and industrial programs, and finally glances fleetingly at the British empire and commonwealth. Here possibly his generalizations are more sweeping and his documentation a little thinner than elsewhere in the book.

With this exception, the author has discussed each of these subjects fully. He looks first at the background of the problem; here he presents the findings of the appropriate royal commissions and other fact-finding agencies, as well as the opinions of other experts. Then he looks in detail at the parliamentary history of the legislation—and spices his description with lively quotations from Hansard. After that he analyses the acts involved, and comments on how the acts have worked—to his date line of July 1949—and how they may work in the future.

In general the author argues that the Labour program—particularly the nationalizations—is anything but revolutionary. It grows out of the economic plight of England—and much of it was not opposed in principle by the Conservative party. The author feels, however, that the Labour government has been too much a creature of the past, and that it has often improvised rather than planned. Above all, he thinks that adequate over-all planning is lacking in Great Britain, and only by such planning on a highly imaginative scale can the downfall of Great Britain be avoided. This is at least an arguable thesis.

The book is richly crowded with important details on every major economic aspect of the Labour government's actions. One who wants to be well-informed on the economic program of the Labour government should have this book on his shelves.

University of Illinois

Edward G. Lewis

ELIAS HUZAR: *The Purse and the Sword: Control of the Army by Congress Through Military Appropriations, 1933-1950*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950, Pp., 417, \$4.50.)

The shortcomings of Congress in meeting the challenge of the 20th Century in the discharge of its three-fold function of representation, legislation, and oversight of the administration have not gone unmarked. Most of the resultant books, such as Galloway's *Congress at the Crossroads* and Burn's *Congress on Trial*, have essayed an overall approach; some, as Bailey's *Congress Makes a Law*, have been more nearly case studies in representation and legislation. Comes now *The Purse and the Sword*, a case study of the appropriation process in Congress, showing how a great deal of the public's money is spent, unraveling the complicated operating relationship between the custodians and the spenders of military funds, going directly to the heart of legislative controls over executive agencies, and examining the effectiveness of purse-string power in maintaining civilian supremacy over the armed services.

Professor Huzar pinpoints as the actual custodians of military funds the subcommittees on military appropriations of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees—or more particularly the House subcommittee since the Senate group largely acts, without disadvantage, on “appeals” of the military establishment from House decisions. The explanation, thereafter, of how the approval of the military budget is used to supervise the military establishment emerges precisely and objectively; indeed, the story of the normal absorption of the subcommittees with costs and details, the wartime dilemma of dollar control without impairment of the military effort, the postwar reversion to prewar approaches and techniques, frames its own indictment. Huzar convinces that Congress continues to be a long way from a really effective system for correlating dollars and defense.

The problem, actual and potential, is not one of lack of power but of methods and orientation. Some of the handicaps under which the custodians of the military purse labor could be removed simply by strengthening the staffs of the appropriations committees. But the variety of reasons which have made Congress hesitant, even reluctant, to adopt this partial remedy merely introduce the difficulties of initiating the rest of the reforms the author recommends in his concluding

chapter for developing a "tighter purse and a sharper sword". Professor Huzar does not believe that the Appropriations Committees should limit their role to a consideration of the costs of military programs and insuring taxpayers their money's worth. In asking that these committees openly "raise their sights" to matters of overall military and defense policy he is not forgetful of the role of the legislative committees and other policy sources; rather he is suggesting that the custodians of the military funds do cooperatively, consciously, comprehensively, and in an organized fashion what he has shown they already are accustomed to doing indirectly, independently, hapazardly, and pretty much unsatisfactorily.

The Purse and the Sword is a pattern-piece of expository writing based upon prodigious research, and presented with a meticulous marshalling of data. The specificity of precautions in the explanatory notes for tabular material is an excellent example of aid to the specialist without hindrance to the general reader. Indeed, the only persons likely to be disappointed by this book are those who must have only devils and angels in things governmental or those who might be misled by its short title into thinking it another addition to the literature of historical romance, adventure, and cleavage.

University of Iowa

R. G. Whitesel

LAWRENCE EDWIN ABT AND LEOPOLD BELLAK (Eds.): *Projective Psychology, Clinical Approaches to the Total Personality*. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc., 1950, Pp., 485, \$6.00.)

"This book has been prepared because of the great need that exists today to bring within the confines of one volume . . . the variety of projective tests and procedures that constitute the growing armamentarium of the clinical psychologist." The statement is from the editors' preface. Most clinicians use one or more projective procedures but each customarily confines himself to only a few out of the large number that get used generally. The editors felt that in view of this fact they should obtain contributions from a number of clinicians, each writing a chapter on a projective procedure that he customarily uses. The major part of the book, Part Two, deals with the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, Mosaic Test, figure drawing, Szondi Test, Sentence Completion Test, Bender Visual-Motor Gestalt Test, and finger painting. The first part of the book, by the editors, deals with the theoretical foundations of projective procedures. The third part discusses the use of some of these procedures in business, industry, and social action research.

Bellack, in establishing the definiteness of the concept of projection and its reality as a phenomenon, employs the concept of apperception,

which has been used by many psychologists since the time of Herbart for an explanation of what the mind itself brings to a perception over and above mere receptivity. It is puzzling that writers on projective methods do not use Koffka's distinction between external and internal forces in treating theoretical problems. The distinction is clear cut and useful in a great variety of operational contexts. They use the word *Gestalt*, often intelligently, but also sometimes in the way "King's X" is used in children's games.

Abt sketches a theory of personality by making five statements which he call postulates. These present personality as adjustive, organizational, dynamic, and temporally continuous through maturation and learning, social learning being of "prime" importance. Projective methods provide situations in which the personality of the subject is given a chance to display its characteristics as an adjustive organization.

Ruth L. Munroe's chapter, "The inspection technique of the Rorschach protocol," is an efficient job of telling the reader what he needs to know in order to use the technique. Like the other two chapters on Rorschach techniques, this one presupposes a knowledge of the Rorschach. Dr. M. R. Harrower discusses methods of administering the Rorschach to groups, including a multiple choice test based on the Rorschach, which cannot take the place of the Rorschach but which is useful in supplying data for norms, and useful for later testing of a previously tested subject.

To be brief, the book is provoking, varied in its quality from dreamy to practical, and for the most part inconclusive but hopeful in arguing for the usefulness and scientific validity of projective procedures. Some of the chapters can be read by beginners; others will be fully informing only to readers already familiar with the field.

University of Florida

Henry Wunderlich

H. O. WALDBY: *The Patronage System in Oklahoma*. (Norman, Oklahoma: The Transcript Company, 1950, Pp., 100, \$1.00.)

Based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, this monograph candidly surveys general personnel practices throughout the Oklahoma state service and directs special attention to representative state agencies: the Highway Department, the two penal institutions for adults, and the Highway Patrol in the Department of Public Safety. Newspaper accounts are drawn upon heavily and supplemented with data obtained through oral interviews, questionnaires and official state reports.

In the overall approach, patronage control and resulting problems posed for past governors and departmental heads is the dominant theme;

methods of clearing political appointments with special attention to automobile tag agents, job selling by some legislators, employment of relatives, political activity by employees and political assessments are given special attention. Personnel turnover is found to be generally high and tenure extremely insecure; few personnel records are maintained; position classification and salary standardization are lacking except in a limited number of agencies; in-service training is very much the exception; hours of work vary considerably; and annual and sick leave are generally determined by departmental heads with resulting variation. The only division outside the schools which has a retirement plan is the Highway Patrol.

Various ramifications of the patronage system in the Highway Department and penal institutions are described and the Highway Patrol is cited as being the best of state agencies from the standpoint of its personnel practices.

Besides direct financial losses which are attributable to the lack of an effective personnel system, the author concludes that there are losses of much broader significance, including those "incurred through dealings of incompetent state personnel with well trained and aggressive business personnel; inability to plan or formulate long range policies because of rapid turnover; undue allocation of time to personnel matters by the governor, administrative officials, and legislators; excessive influence of the patronage system on decisions of members of the legislature; and distrust of citizens of the work of political appointees."

The University of Texas

Howard A. Calkins

ALBERT V. FOWLER (Ed.): *War and Civilization, From a Study of History by Arnold J. Toynbee*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, Pp., 165, \$2.50.)

The editor and publishers have rendered a real service to the reading public by presenting these excerpts from Mr. Toynbee's famous six-volume work. Among the conclusions regarding war which Toynbee has drawn from his study of history none are more challenging than his statements that "an improvement in military technique is usually, if not invariably, the symptom of a decline in Civilization" and "The single art of war makes progress at the expense of all the arts of peace." Sparta, according to Toynbee, carried the worship of military virtues to such length and the idea of the military state so far that she became incompetent to handle problems which military victories thrust upon her; and the "victoriousness" of Assyria was also Assyria's doom.

In the modern era, historian Toynbee sees warfare appearing in "two bouts," the Wars of Religion and the Wars of Nationality. These, he

says, may be regarded as paroxysms separated by a breathing spell with the last being more violent than the first. At the end of the eighteenth century the Christian faith of the masses began to be influenced by the unbelief of the cultivated minority. Into this spiritual vacuum rushed "a hideous and destructive paganism." The question for our day, according to Toynbee, is simply this: Is Christianity out of the running or can it offer man "a higher positive alternative?" Will love of the military virtues be distorted into naked militarism or be glorified into a spiritual warfare of man for God against the forces of evil?

This little volume is not one of those many books to be read once and placed on the shelf to gather dust. Rather, it is one of those rare works to be kept close at hand and read from cover to cover over and over again.

Baylor University

Jefferson Davis Bragg

FREDERICK C. IRION: *Public Opinion and Propaganda*. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1950, Pp., 782, \$5.00.)

MILDRED B. PARTEN: *Surveys, Polls and Samples*. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, Pp., 624, \$5.00.)

An outstanding addition to the literature on public opinion and propaganda is Irion's cultural interpretation. His textbook contains a wealth of timely and interesting illustrative materials which, while making for popularity among students, may well provoke a response ranging from enthusiastic commendation to irate condemnation on the part of readers with more settled convictions about the final perfection of our society, A. D. 1950.

The author is certainly to be congratulated on the contagious enthusiasm and stimulating vigor with which he has treated his subject. He introduces the student to a great range of political scientists, sociologists, anthropologists and the literature of the field. No current text approaches it for the profusion of practical detail presented. But the reader will search in vain for a rigorous theoretical formulation regarding either public opinion or propaganda. Definition by implication, however, though lacking in clarity may be preferable to an academically more orthodox but unrealistically simplified presentation.

Furthermore, there is a basic ambivalence about the work which is nowhere sharply brought into focus. On the one hand, Irion sees the *amoral* organic unity of modern American culture determining the processes and aims of public opinion. On the other hand, when he breaks down this cultural unity by his analysis, innumerable special interest

groups are revealed as manipulating public opinion through propaganda and censorship for selfish, hence *immoral*, benefits.

The root of the matter, in this reviewer's judgment, is that Professor Irion has not completely come to terms with himself on a basic problem always confronting the social scientist: a clear recognition of the value system which he himself lives by. We are told at the outset that, "The primary purpose of this book is to present an objective description and analysis of the forces that operate with respect to public opinion and propaganda." And in the next breath public opinion research is acknowledged to involve "moral and ethical considerations of first importance." The reviewer's objection is not to the fact that an author makes value judgments, but that he seems to be unaware of the fact that he is making them, or of their implications for his "objective" analysis. Especially in so controversial a field as that under consideration, where our most fundamental cultural ideologies come up for appraisal, the writer would do well to heed the admonitions most persuasively voiced by Myrdal.

In contrast to Irion's warmly written volume is the closely related work by Parten which, in style, is cool and detached.

The subject matter of *Surveys, Polls and Samples*, as Dr. Parten says, is "good survey procedures." If every social science survey planned and executed in the future were to benefit by the methodological procedures in this book, the quality of the research and the soundness of the findings would be improved immeasurably over the general level of such work in the past.

Although this book is designed as "a comprehensive basic text for college courses in social survey, polling methods, and public opinion or market research," it will be even more useful, in the reviewer's judgment, as a convenient reference manual for the director of surveys who is in frequent need of check lists, models, and guides, to make sure that the various steps in the total research process are executed with a maximum of proficiency. For the seasoned investigator there will probably be little of substantial novelty in the book but, on the other hand, he will find a wealth of detailed exposition, recapitulating most of what is valuable in his own experience over the years. Furthermore, he will find it convenient to keep at hand for the 1145-item bibliography, the selected chapter references, and the detailed lists of cautions and reminders which probably have never before been so thoroughly prepared for research of the survey and polling types.

JOHN ROGERS COMMONS: *The Economics of Collective Action*. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950, Pp., 414, \$5.00.)

John Rogers Commons, late Professor of Economics, University of Wisconsin, has presented to economists and other social scientists a synthesis of his formulations on institutional economics which have evolved during a lifetime of study, teaching, writing, and activity in public (i.e. collective) affairs. This volume also contains a biographical sketch written by Selig Perlman, a colleague who was also a former Commons student. In addition, Kenneth Parsons, the editor of the volume and also a former student of Commons, has written an introduction to the volume and has included his previously published critique of the Commons' point of view. The final thirty pages of the volume are required merely to present a chronological bibliography of Professor Commons' writings from 1887 to 1943.

This valedictory volume makes no pretense at being a striking new formulation of an economic theory. It can be more appropriately described as a synthesis of the Commons' approach to economic thinking. *The Economics of Collective Action*, representing as it does the later stages in the evolution of Commons' ideas, supersedes much of what is contained in some of his better-known volumes such as *Institutional Economics* and *Legal Foundations of Capitalism*.

The title was derived from Commons standard definition of an institution as "collective action in control, liberation, and expansion of individual action." With the "transaction" (the meeting of the wills) as the strategic relation in economic activity, Commons presents a general theory based upon the premise that all action can be described as "performance, avoidance, or forbearance;" all institutional controls as collective action in control of individual action; and all transactions as bargaining, managerial, or rationing. All economic activity goes through three stages—negotiation, transaction, and administration. His application of this general theory in the Twentieth Century involves the three main kinds of collective action—corporations, labor unions, and political parties. In his interpretation of modern economic activity he uses five assumptions: sovereignty, scarcity, efficiency, futurity, and custom. For Commons the validity of each assumption is established by the fruitfulness of its application.

John R. Commons has constructed a pattern of thought which gives the field of economics a stronger claim to the status of a social science. He recognizes that society is not a sum of isolated individuals, but is a multiple of cooperating individuals. He has managed to develop a system of thought which is useful both for the analysis of economic problems and as a guide to collective action and public policy. To say that *The*

Economics of Collective Action is not a polished, definitive presentation of a system of thought is not in this instance a criticism of Commons nor his book. For an evolutionary approach to economics, tentative in all its aspects, there is no finished treatise. Only preliminary drafts are appropriate. Commons found the Twentieth Century economy requiring a different basis of analysis from that of the Nineteenth Century, and his school of thought will continue to find further modification appropriate as the decades pass.

The Rice Institute

James Bernard Giles

ROBERT PAYNE: *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China*. (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950, Pp., 303, \$3.00.)

DERK BODDE: *Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution*. (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950, Pp., 292, \$3.75.)

For the first time in our history China and the United States are enemies. An ideology has come between two traditionally friendly people. The explanation, of course, is not really that simple; so scholars, commentators and students have been working overtime to show why this has happened and what may occur in the future. The reader who wants a wise summary of events in China, a report on the man most responsible for bringing them about, and a human and first-hand account of the way many Chinese have responded to these changes, is strongly urged to take up these two books.

Mao Tse-tung is a biography in the manner of Deutscher's *Stalin*; his ideas, with the traditions that formed him, with some of the legends growing round him, and not with the intimate day-to-day details of his life. Mao is set down as the most recent, and most successful, of a line of reformers and revolutionaries in modern China. The most significant formative influence upon Mao's thinking was the poverty and misery of the Chinese peasants among whom he lived and worked in his early years. This does not make him simply an "agrarian reformer," but it filled him with a desire to improve the lives of his people and to do that called for making China strong and independent. He recognized before other Chinese reformers of the 20th century, including the Communists, that a successful revolutionary movement in China had to proceed from peasant support.

However, the concern of non-Communist friends of China—and this is shared by Payne—is that in his policies *outside* China Mao will allow himself to be so rigidly guided by his Communist ideology and depend so exclusively upon Soviet sources of information and interpretation, that he will lead China and the Orient into a catastrophic and unnecessary

conflict. The men who want to try to modernize China within a reasonable time cannot do this without the assistance, advice, even the trade and investment, of the western world. This could proceed on terms satisfactory to both parties whatever the complexion of the government *within* China. This Mao seems to deny. His ideology says a non-Communist country is *per se* his country's enemy; China cannot stand alone, therefore he is forced to align his foreign policies with those of the Soviet Union. In the long run this is not likely to benefit China.

Derk Bodde, another long-time resident and student of China, was in Peking on a Fulbright grant before the Communist take-over and for seven months thereafter. In diary form he has recorded his own views and reactions to the new government and, most interestingly, the views and reactions of many Chinese with whom he dealt. There is a good deal of admiration, shared by the Chinese residents of Peking, of the orderly taking over of the city administration, of the moderate Communist rule, and of the way in which food supply and currency problems were handled. It is imperative for Americans to know about life within Communist China, whatever bitterness may be felt toward Chinese Communist activities abroad. *Peking Diary* is a splendid place to start.

The University of Texas

James R. Roach

FRANK MANN STEWART: *A Half Century of Municipal Reform; The History of the National Municipal League*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950, Pp., 289, \$5.00.)

This book is a "must" for the shelf of almost everyone really interested in good municipal government. It is the story of fifty years of often thankless efforts on the part of relatively small number of persons to make the government of municipalities honest and efficient. Since many of these persons sooner or later and in one way or another became identified with the National Municipal League, the story of their efforts is largely a history of this organization.

Professor Stewart's account of its history, written at the invitation of the League Secretary, contains much detailed information concerning the League's formation and development. It has excellent appendices and notes which include such valuable material as the verbatim "call for a Conference for Good City Government," (the call for the meeting which led directly to the League's formation), the Constitution of the League, historical list of officers, etc. It also describes carefully the origin and development of the League's program, built around such well known principles or proposals as the strengthened mayorship, the city

manager plan, merit system, improved financial administration (such as centralized purchasing), non-partisan elections, the initiative and referendum—to mention only a few.

Besides all this, Professor Stewart has made and kept his book readable in the best sense of the term; he has made it a book hard for the interested student and worker in municipal government to put down. Perhaps one of the significant reactions of the reader will be to wonder once again at the lethargy, of some citizens combined with the downright selfishness and dishonesty of others which year by year oppose or betray the efforts of unselfish "reformers" who desire to make our cities and towns the kind of places for good living which they can become.

University of Oklahoma

John Paul Duncan

W. Darrell Overdyke: *The Know-Nothing Party in the South*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950, Pp. 295, \$4.00.)

The Know-Nothing party got its name from the way members answered questions about their secret signs and rituals. "I don't know" was a sort of password and the party never let it drop. The party, officially the "American" party, took form in the early 1850's, in time abandoned the hocus-pocus, won numerous Congressional, state, and municipal posts in 1854, ran Millard Fillmore for president in 1856, and was dead by 1860.

Mr. Overdyke tells its story in the South. Fillmore polled 44 per cent of the votes cast in the 14 states—twice his percentage in the country as a whole. Why? The Know-Nothings arose in the void left by the disintegration of the Whigs. Unlike the other new party, the Republicans, they urged that the Union could be saved by preserving the status quo in slavery matters. They would direct the political debate to the dangers of foreign immigration and popery.

The author finds that the Unionist sentiment was genuine both North and South. The nativist sentiment might have been expected, given the torrent of impecunious immigrants who unloaded their social and economic distresses on the ports of entry and straight away marched into the Democratic party. Though the party's anti-Roman Catholic tenets were often ignored by local leaders, suspicion of the Pope grew out of tactless activities by the hierarchy and the wholesale migration from Ireland. The author takes a more patient view of these things than many historians: "Americanism should not be regarded as a movement directed against any minority, and racial, or national group, or against any religion, but as a legitimate outburst directed against any foreigner or any religious tenet threatening the best welfare of the United States."

Mr. Overdyke has drawn heavily on fugitive materials and the contemporary press to give a useful and apparently careful narrative of the American party (though, incidently, the Fillmore and Fremont percentages on page 154 seem to be incorrectly computed). As such, the book makes a positive contribution, but there is little by way of interpretation. The book does not fall into that rich tradition of historical writing that re-creates and illuminates an epoch. It sticks closely to the Know-Nothings and gives slight sense of the color, passion, and hopelessness of the decade in which they moved. Nativism is of consummate interest in the 1950's, as it was in the 1850's, but only a mild attempt is made to probe into its sociological and psychological origins. The study is of a political party, but no detailed analysis of election returns is attempted.

It is no lack of appreciation for the author's research to note the social attitudes and political behavior exemplified by the Know-Nothings will be better understood as more of the analytical and interpretative tools of the social sciences are used in studying them.

University of North Carolina

Alexander Heard

ALLEN W. EISTER: *The United States and the A. B. C. Powers, 1889-1906*. (Dallas: University Press in Dallas, Southern Methodist University, 1950, Pp., 92, \$1.50.)

Did the Spanish-American War affect in any way the trade and diplomatic relations between the United States and the A.B.C. Powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile? Author Eister answers this question by analyzing diplomatic correspondence and consular reports of the United States Department of State covering a nine year period before 1898, the war months of that year, and the eight years following. His study reveals that not only were diplomatic relations cordial between the United States and the A.B.C. Powers during and after the war, but trade and commerce which had been expanding before the war showed a definite rise in volume and value for the months of 1898 and for the eight years thereafter. The fear of and denunciation of the "Yankee Peril" which were manifested in certain circles of Latin America during the Spanish-American War were not reflected in the diplomatic relations between the United States and the A. B. C. Powers nor did they impair our trade relations with these three important countries of the New World. In the author's own words, "... the most that the Spanish-American War did for the relations of the United States with Argentina, Brazil, and Chile was to raise the prestige of the North American country and to awaken its citizens to their 'neglected opportunities.' The worst that the war did for these relations was to afford certain South

American jingoes another opportunity for hurling darts at the Monroe Doctrine."

Professor Eister's analysis of the question is extremely well documented and reveals not only a thorough knowledge of his subject but also a determination to present a true picture from the records available. That he takes material ordinarily dry and uninteresting and weaves it into an interesting and readable volume is certainly to his credit as an author.

All students of the foreign relations of the United States and especially those who are interested in a history of our diplomatic and trade relations with the three leading nations of South America will do well to add this little book to their collection.

The University of Texas

E. V. Niemeyer, Jr.

Other Books Received

- Anderson, Lynn F.: *Texas Property Taxes 1949*. (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1950, Pp., 127, \$2.00.)
- Asheim, Lester: *A Forum on the Public Library Inquiry*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950, Pp., 281, \$3.75.)
- Babb, C. M.: *Election Procedure for Municipal Officials in Texas*. (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1951, Pp., 85, \$1.00.)
- Commonwealth of Kentucky: *Legislative Research in Kentucky*. (Frankfort, Kentucky: Legislative Research Committee, 1950, Pp., 11, NP.)
- Davis, Kingsley: *The Population of India and Pakistan*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, Pp., 263, \$7.50.)
- De Grazia, Alfred: *Public and Republic*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951, Pp., 162, \$3.50.)
- Elliott, M. A. and Merrill, F. E.: *Social Disintegration* (Third Edition). (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 748, \$4.50.)
- Etheridge, F. H. and Arbingast, S. A.: *Disposal of Surplus War Plants In Texas*. (Austin: Bureau of Business Research, University of Texas 1950, Pp., 15, NP.)
- Feis, Herbert: *The Road to Pearl Harbor*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, Pp., 356, \$5.00.)
- Gouldner, A. W.: *Studies In Leadership*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, Pp., 736, \$5.00.)
- Hanson, A. H.: *Business Cycles and National Income*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1951, Pp., , \$4.50.)
- Hesseltine, William B.: *Confederate Leaders In The New South*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950, Pp., 147, \$2.50.)
- Hill, Norman (Editor): *International Relations: Documents and Readings*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, Pp., 536, \$4.50.)
- Institute of Public Affairs: *Bibliography On Texas Government*. (Austin: Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, 1951, Pp., 12, \$1.50)
- Jensen, Merrill: *The New Nation*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1950, Pp., 433, \$5.00.)
- Keenan, Joseph B. and Brown, B. F.: *Crimes Against International Law*. (Washington, D. C.: Uublic Affairs Press, 1950, Pp., 226, \$3.25.)

- Lewis, W. A.: *The Principle of Economic Planning*. (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1951, Pp., 128, \$2.00.)
- Lincoln, George A., et al (Editors): *Economics of National Security*. (New York: Prentice-Hall Company, 1951, Pp., 601, \$5.00.)
- Meade, E. Grant: *American Military Government in Korea*. (New York: King's Crown Press, 1951, Pp., 281, \$3.75.)
- Merrill, F. E., et al: *Social Problems*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1950, Pp., 425, \$3.00.)
- Metz, Harold and Thomson, C. A. H.: *Authoritarianism and the Individual*. (Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1950, Pp., 364, \$3.50.)
- Noel, P. Gist, et al (Editors): *Missouri: Its People, Resources, and Institutions*. (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri, 1950, Pp., 605, NP.)
- Proceedings of the Stillwater Conference: *The Nature of Concepts Their Inter-Relation and Role in Social Structure*. (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1950, Pp., 139, NP.)
- Riggs, Fred W.: *Pressure on Congress*. (New York: King's Crown Press, 1950, Pp., 260, \$3.75.)
- Schumpeter, J. A.: *Imperialism and Social Classes*, Translated by Heinz Norden. (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, Inc., 1951, Pp., 221 \$3.00.)
- Schurr, Sam H. and Marchak, Jacob: *Economic Aspects of Atomic Power*. (Princeton University Press, 1950, Pp., 289, \$6.00.)
- Snider, Clyde F.: *American State and Local Government*. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950, Pp., 639, \$5.00.)
- Spiegelman, Mortimer: *Health Progress in the United States*. (New York: American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1950, Pp., 28, \$.50.)
- Spier, Fred S.: *The Golden Gate*. (New York: Terrace Publishers, 1950, Pp., 264, \$3.00.)
- Stokes, William S.: *Hondurass An Area Study in Government*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950, Pp., 364, \$6.00.)
- Swarthouth, J. M. and Bartley, E. R.: *Principles and Problems of American National Government*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, Pp., 700.)
- Thomas, Robert W.: *Workmen's Compensation in New Mexico*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1950, Pp., 179, \$2.00.)

Wilson, O. W.: *Police Administration*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1950, Pp., 540, \$6.00.)

Zweig, Ferdinand: *Economic Ideas*. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950, Pp., 197, \$2.25.)

The Association

The 1951 annual convention of the Southwestern Social Science Association was held at Austin, March 23 and 24. Sessions were held in the Driskill and the Stephen F. Austin Hotels, with the former designated as convention headquarters.

President J. L. Waller, Texas Western College, addressed the general meeting following the conference dinner Friday evening, on the subject "Constitutional Problems of Today." At the same session, Chancellor James P. Hart, of the University of Texas, spoke on "The Social Sciences in a Troubled World." The dinner was presided over by the Association's newly elected president, Vernon G. Sorrell, University of New Mexico. The general meeting was held in the Crystal Ballroom of the Driskill.

The general business meeting of the Association was held Saturday morning, March 24, and meetings of the executive council took place Thursday evening, March 22 and Saturday morning, March 24. Minutes of these sessions will appear in the next issue of the *Quarterly*. The student section of the Southwestern Sociological Society, which constitutes the Sociology section of the Association, met with the Association, and conducted a special student program. Separate section luncheons were held Friday by the Accounting and Geography sections, and by members interested in the Social Science Introductory Course. A general discussion, chaired by Virginia B. Sloan, University of New Mexico, was held at the latter, on the topic, "Patterns in Integrated Social Science Courses in the Southwest."

Programs presented in the several sections of the Association, with corrections complete to the printing deadline of the *Quarterly*, were as follows:

ACCOUNTING SECTION

Friday morning, March 23. Chairman, O. J. Curry, North Texas State College.

1. "Plans in the Making for Regulatory Legislation Controlling the Practice of Public Accounting in Oklahoma," B. F. Harrison, Oklahoma A. & M. College
Discussion Leader: Jim T. Barton; Wade, Barton & Marsh, Austin Texas
2. "Replacement of Fixed Assets," T. W. Leland, Texas A. & M. College
Discussion Leader: J. Marvin Sipe, University of Houston
3. "Accounting Research," Charles T. Zlatkovich, University of Texas
Discussion Leader: Lionel E. Gilley, Southern Methodist University

Friday afternoon, March 23. Chairman, William E. Whittington, Texas Technological College.

1. "Recent Development in Auditing," Tom Rose, North Texas State College
Discussion Leader: Wiley Rich, Hardin-Simmons University
2. "Auditing Standards," W. P. Carr, Loyola University
Discussion Leader: Leo Herbert, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
3. Panel Discussion: "Teaching of Auditing," C. Aubrey Smith, Chairman, University of Texas; N. D. Durst, Texas A. & M. College; Daniel Borth, Louisiana State University; Aubrey M. Farb, University of Houston.

Saturday morning, March 24. Chairman, D. W. Curry, Southern Methodist University.

1. "Accounting Curricula Planning," Ralph C. Russell, Texas College of Arts and Industries.
2. "Analysis of Manufacturing Expense Variations Under Standard Cost Procedures," Emerson O. Henke, Baylor University
Discussion Leader: Fred Farrar, Texas A. & M. College
3. "The Accountability Concept in Enterprise Accounting," Lloyd F. Morrison, Louisiana State University
Discussion Leader: Chester F. Lay, Southern Methodist University

AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. First Session. Chairman: W. E. Paulson, Texas A. & M. College

THEME: Agricultural Marketing

1. "Research Needed to Aid in a More Efficient Operation of Farm Cooperatives," George Blair, Executive Secretary, Texas State Federation of Cooperatives, Dallas
2. "A Survey of Texas Farm Business Cooperatives," Warren LeBourveau, Texas A. & M. College
3. Discussion: B. M. Gile, Louisiana State University; M. C. Jaynes, Texas A. & M. College; A. M. Hodgkins, University of Arkansas; D. H. Pinson, Texas Technological College.

Second Session. Chairman: M. D. Woodin, Louisiana State University

1. "Resume of 1950 Marketing Workshop," W. H. Alexander, Louisiana State University
2. Discussion: W. A. Faught, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; O. D. Butler, Texas A. & M. College

Friday Afternoon, March 23. First Session. Chairman: D. W. Williams, Vice Chancellor for Agriculture, Texas A. & M. College

1. "Interagency Committee Approach to River Basin Programs," Col. Louis W. Prentiss, Dallas, Texas
2. "The Role of Agriculture in River Basins Programs," John A. Short, U.S.D.A. Representative

3. "Texas Responsibility and Opportunity Relative to Arkansas-White-Red River Basins Project," A. P. Rollins, State Board of Water Engineers, Austin, Texas

Second Session. Chairman: John White, University of Arkansas

1. "The Role of the Agricultural Economist in Basin Programs," Robert W. Harrison, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Stoneville, Mississippi
2. "How Specific Types of Economic Information or Analysis Can Contribute to Basin Programs," J. H. Southern, Bureau of Agricultural Economics
3. PANEL: Max Tharp, Bureau of Agricultural Economics; C. A. Bonnen, Texas A. & M. College; C. A. Wiley, University of Texas; Henry J. Meenen, University of Arkansas; R. L. Tontz, Oklahoma A. & M. College.

Saturday Morning, March 24. First Session. Chairman: W. N. Williamson, Texas Agricultural Extension Service

1. "Using Agricultural Economics Research Findings," Joseph Ackerman, Farm Foundation, Chicago
2. "Methods and Techniques of Disseminating Agricultural Economics Information," C. H. Bates, Texas Agricultural Extension Service

Second Session. Chairman: Peter Nelson, Oklahoma A. & M. College

Panel Topic: "How I Use Agricultural Economics Information on the Job"

Panel Members: T. E. Atkinson, Arkansas Extension Service; J. V. Pace, Mississippi State College; N. D. Curtis, Louisiana State University; K. Terpening, Oklahoma A. & M. College; J. R. Campbell, Texas A. & M. College.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. Chairman: Karl D. Reyer, Louisiana State University

1. "The Chattel Mortgage and the Conditional Sale: A Regional Consideration," John J. Templin, Texas A. & M. College
2. "Academic Training in Salesmanship," Ralph B. Thompson, University of Texas
3. "Cooperative Training in Marketing," Pearce C. Kelly, University of Oklahoma

Friday Afternoon, March 23. Chairman: Chester F. Lay, Southern Methodist University

1. "Resale Price Maintenance," Wesley Davis, University of Houston
2. "Developing Business Contacts," Karl D. Reyer, Louisiana State University
3. "The Growing Significance of Human Relations," Ellis M. Sowell, Texas Christian University

Saturday Morning, March 24. Chairman and Discussion Leader: A. H. Chute, University of Texas

General Topic: "Appraising the Marketing Curricula of the Southwest"

Panel Members: Jerry E. Drake, Southern Methodist University; Neil S. Foster, Baylor University; Ralph C. Hook, Jr., Texas A. & M. College; Wade Hartrick, Texas Western College

BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. *Chairman:* Francis R. Cella, University of Oklahoma

1. *"The Committee on the Southwest Economy,"* Nathaniel Wollman, University of New Mexico
2. *"Work of The Arkansas-White-Red Basin Inter-Agency Committee,"* Robert W. French, Tulane University

Friday Afternoon, March 23. *Chairman:* John R. Stockton, University of Texas

1. *"The Possibility of Bureaus of Research Measuring Regional Capital Formation,"* W. H. Baughn, Louisiana State University
2. *"Operating Problems of Bureaus of Business Research,* Round Table Discussion

Saturday Morning, March 24. *Chairman:* Dr. Ralph Edgel, University of New Mexico

1. *"Work of Research Bureaus in a Mobilization Economy,"* P. F. Boyer, Louisiana State University
2. *"Selecting Appropriate Research Topics and Guidance of Graduate Students,"* Henry B. Moore, University of Colorado

ECONOMICS SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. First Session. *Chairman:* E. E. Hale, The University of Texas

1. *"Conflicts in Contemporary Monetary and Fiscal Policy,* Richard Johnson, Southern Methodist University
2. *"Federal Reserve Policy in the Postwar Period,"* Ralph Green, Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas

Second Session. *Chairman:* Frederic Meyers, University of Texas

1. *"The Methodology of Economic History,"* E. F. Peterson, University of Alabama
2. *"The Methodology of John R. Commons,"* Samuel Warren, Texas State University for Negroes

Friday Afternoon, March 23. First Session. *Chairman:* Jim Reese, University of Oklahoma

1. *"Wage Bargaining Under Wage Stabilization,"* C. Wilson Randle, Western Reserve University
2. *"Unions and the Economic System,"* Jack Chernick, University of Kansas

Second Session. *Chairman:* R. H. Mundhenke, Texas Christian University.

1. *"Recent Developments in Unemployment Insurance,"* Carey Thompson, University of Texas
2. *"Six Months of the New Social Security Law,"* James Marley, Social Security Administration

ECONOMICS — GOVERNMENT — HISTORY JOINT SESSION

Saturday Morning, March 24. *Chairman:* Oliver Benson, University of Oklahoma

General Topic: *"The Clash of Communism and Democracy"*

1. History: *"Russian Foreign Policy Since the War,"* Alfred Levin, Oklahoma A. & M. College
2. Government: *"Treason, Sedition, and the Constitution,"* J. H. Leek, University of Oklahoma
3. Economics: *"The Impact of Postwar Belligerency on International Finance,"* Walter H. Delaplane, Texas A. & M. College
Discussants: Wendell C. Gordon, University of Texas; Edward K. T. Chen, University of Houston; Byron R. Abernathy, Texas Technological College.

GEOGRAPHY SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. *Chairman:* Virginia Bradley, Southern Methodist University

1. *"Shell, A Marine Resource of the Texas Coast,"* Stanley A. Arbingast, University of Texas
2. *"Influence on World Population of the Food Plants Developed by the North American Indian,"* J. J. Chatterton, Southwestern Louisiana Institute
3. *"Rice Culture in the Settlement of the Tensas Basin,"* Yvonne Phillips, Louisiana State University
4. *"Coal Production in Oklahoma,"* Lee G. Knox, North Texas State College

Friday Afternoon, March 23. *Chairman:* Virginia Bradley, Southern Methodist University

1. *"The 1950 University of Texas Geography Field School in Mexico: An Example of Coordinated Area Research,"* Donald D. Brand, University of Texas
2. *"The Geographic Setting of the Chengtu Plain, Szechwan, China: Some Aspects of an Ancient Irrigation System,"* Ben A. Tator, Louisiana State University
3. *"Natural Boundaries within the Borders of Texas,"* G. W. Schlesselman, Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
4. *"Views from the Arbuckle Mountains,"* Walter Hansen, North Texas State College

Saturday Morning, March 24. *Chairman:* Virginia Bradley, Southern Methodist University

1. *"Economic Geography of the Lower Mississippi Area,"* Alexander I. Warrington, Loyola University
2. *"The Line Settlement Pattern of Southeastern Louisiana,"* W. B. Knipmeyer, Louisiana State University
3. *"Recreational Use of the Colorado National Forests,"* Tom L. McKnight, Southern Methodist University

GOVERNMENT SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. *Chairman:* J. William Davis, Texas Technological College
GENERAL TOPIC: *"Strengthening the United Nations"*

1. *"The Veto Power in the United Nations,"* Charles A. Timm, University of Texas
2. *"The Development of an International Criminal Jurisdiction,"* Wilbourn E. Benton, Southern Methodist University
3. *"UNESCO's Contributions to Strengthening United Nations,"* Mary Evelyn Blagg, North Texas State College
Discussants: Joseph R. Taylor, East Texas State College; Comer Clay, Texas Christian University; Virgil Shipley, University of Wichita.

Friday Afternoon, March 23. *Chairman:* A. P. Cagle, Baylor University

GENERAL TOPIC: *"State Constitutional Reform in the Southwest"*

1. *"State Constitutional Revision in Oklahoma,"* H. V. Thornton, University of Oklahoma
2. *"The Abortive Louisiana Constitutional Convention of 1951,"* William C. Havard, Northwestern State College of Louisiana
3. *"Constitutional Reform in Texas,"* John P. Keith, Texas Institute of Public Affairs
4. *Discussants:* Hugo Wall, University of Wichita; Dick Smith, John Tarleton State College; Roscoe C. Adkins, North Texas State College; Bill Oden, Texas Technological College.

HISTORY SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. *Chairman:* Rupert N. Richardson, Hardin-Simmons University

1. *"The Jay Bird Democratic Association—A White Man's Primary,"* Pauline Yelderman, University of Houston
Discussant: J. D. Bragg, Baylor University
2. *"The Last Fifty Years in Louisiana,"* G. W. McGinty, Louisiana Polytechnic Institute
Discussant: Frank E. Vandiver, Tulane University
3. *"An Analysis of Recent Opposition of the German Socialist Party to Re-armament in the Light of its Past Record,"* John W. Keller, Oklahoma City University
Discussant: W. J. Hammond, Texas Christian University

Friday Afternoon, March 23. *Chairman:* Rudolph L. Bieseke, University of Texas

ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION: *"How Should History be Taught?"*

Discussants: J. L. Clark, Sam Houston State Teachers College of Texas; T. H. Reynolds, Oklahoma A. & M. College; W. C. Nunn, Texas Christian University; Lewis P. Hale, Del Mar College; H. A. Trexler, Southern Methodist University; Charles W. Merrifield, University of Denver.

SOCIOLOGY SECTION

Friday Morning, March 23. *Chairman:* Melvin S. Brooks, Texas A. & M. College

GENERAL TOPIC: *"Rural Sociology"*

1. *"Community Organization and Landed Property Rights,"* James D. Tarver, University of Arkansas

2. *"The People of Friolot Cove: A Socio-Psychological Study of a Racial Hybrid Community in Rural Louisiana,"* J. Hardy Jones, University of Kentucky and Vernon P. Parenton, Louisiana State University
3. *"Socio-Psychological Problems Involved in the Adjustment of Students to the College Community,"* Bardin H. Nelson, Texas A. & M. College
Discussant: Carl M. Rosenquist, University of Texas

Friday Afternoon, March 23. First Session. *Chairman:* Rupert C. Koeninger Sam Houston State Teachers College

GENERAL TOPIC: *"Race and Ethnic Groups"*

1. *"Assimilation of the Cheyenne Indians,"* Donald D. Stewart, University of Oklahoma
2. *"Some Recent Contributions to Race Relations Theory,"* Tillman C. Cothran, Arkansas A., M., & N. College
3. *"The Social History of Spanish-speaking People in the Southwestern United States Since 1850,"* Lyle Saunders, University of New Mexico

Second Session. *Chairman:* Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University

GENERAL TOPIC: *"Instruction in the Introductory Course in Social Science"*

Discussants: C. E. Ayres, University of Texas; J. F. Foster, University of Denver; R. E. Powers, Oklahoma A. & M. College; A. Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas; W. E. Sondelius, University of Kansas; Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College.

Saturday Morning, March 24. First Session. *Chairman:* Franz Adler, University of Arkansas

GENERAL TOPIC: *"Social Theory"*

1. *"The Normative Element in Human Action,"* Morris J. Daniels, Arkansas Polytechnic College
2. *"An Operation for Standardizing the Imputation of Meaning,"* Walter Firey and Ivan Belknap, University of Texas
3. *"Principles of the Ecology of Political Parties,"* Rudolf Heberle, Louisiana State University
Discussants: William H. Key, University of Arkansas; Allan Eister, Southern Methodist University; James D. Tarver, University of Arkansas.

Second Session. *Chairman:* Walter Firey, University of Texas

GENERAL TOPIC: *"Industrial Sociology"*

1. *"Some Characteristics of the Aged Labor Force,"* Hiram J. Friedsam, North Texas State College
2. *"The Conflict of Civilian and Army Norms in a Military Railroad Service,"* Lewis M. Killian, University of Oklahoma
3. *"The Maintenance of Policy on the Newspaper,"* Warren Breed, Newcomb College, Tulane University
Discussant: Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University

Committees of the Association

President Waller has announced the appointment of the following committees, which served during the past year in preparation for the convention and in the general planning of Association business:

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Marshall E. Dimock and Gladys O. Dimock available April, probably 1024 pages, \$5.00

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